# HISTORY

OF THE

### SARACENS.

CONTAINING

The Lives of Abubeker, Omar, Othman, Ali, Hasan, Moawiyah I. Yezid I. Meawiyah II. Abdolla, Merwan I. and Abdol mélick, the immediate Successors of M A H O M E T.

GIVING

An ACCOUNT of their most remarkable Battles, Sieges, &c. particularly those of Alepse, Antioch, Damascus, Alexandric and Jerusalem.

ILLUSTRATING

The Religion, Rights, Customs and Manner of Living of that Warlike People.

Collected from the most Authentick Arabick Authors, especially Manuscripts, not hitherto publish'd in any European Language.

By SIMON OCKLEY, B. D. Professor of Arabick in the University of Cambridge.

VOLUME the FIRST.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON, Printed for R. Knaplock in St. Paul's Churchyard, J. Sprint in Little Britain, R. Smith in Cornbill, B. Lintot in Fleetstreet, and J. Round in Exchange-Alley. 1718.



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The Lives of Abybeley, Omary, Othman, Alio Flatter, Mountigab I. Build I. Mourrigah II. Abdolla, Morwan I. and Aldel millich, the inimediate Secretion of M / BOMET.

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BY SIMON OCKLESS B. D. PHOSPE of Arabick in the Univ. 180 of Cambildon

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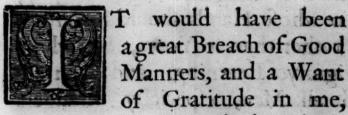
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To the Reverend

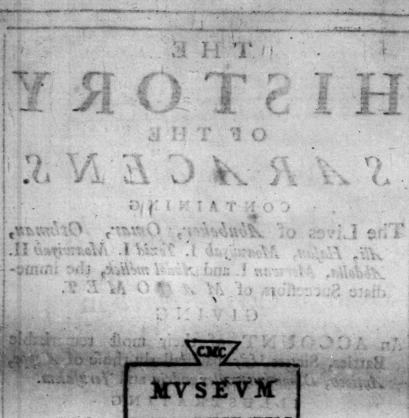
## Dr. Henry Aldrich,

# Dean of Christ-Church in OXFORD.

SIR,



not to have return'd this little Book to that Place, whence it took its Rise and Original, I mean Ox-A 2 ford,



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Collected from the most Amicestists disabled Authors, especially Vianuscriets, not historic published and in any European Longress.

By SIMON OCKLAN, B. D. Pullfur of Archick in the University of Cambridge.

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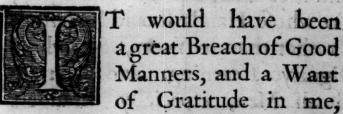
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To the Reverend

## Dr. Henry Aldrich,

# Dean of Christ-Church in OXFORD.

SIR,



not to have return'd this little Book to that Place, whence it took its Rise and Original, I mean Ox-A 2 ford, ford, to which we owe that Incomparable Archbishop Laud, whose great Bounty and Munificence has furnish'd the Bodleian Library with a vast Number of the Best Oriental Authors, particularly those I have made use of in this Work: To which we owe fo many learned and eminent Promoters of Eastern Learning, and above all the admirable Dr. Pocock, to whose Labours how much we are indebted, no Tongue can fufficiently express. Since therefore, upon these Accounts, I could do no less than fend it to Your Famous University; To whose Hands should I commit it rather than to Yours, Sir, whose Dignity, Learning, and Courtefy to all Men, especially Strangers and Scholars, entitle you justly to the utmost Respect and Esteem.

I had no fmall Reason to hope, Sir, that this Attempt of mine would not be unacceptable to you, from what I heard you fay, when I was vouchfafed the Honour of your Conversation, about the deplorable Defects in our late Accounts of the Oriental Affairs: And what great Pity it was, that the World should be content with Trifling Legendary Relations, and live upon the Gleanings of Paulus Venetus, Jacobus à Vitriaco, Postellus, &c. When there is Plenty of Noble and Valuable Authors in our Repositories of Learning.

It would indeed be matter of Joy to the Curious, to see Albochâri, Ebn Chalecân, Meidáni Tabari, Mircond, and other Renown'd Eastern Writers, correctly printed, A 3 and

and take their Places in the Studies of the Learned. It would give an inexpressible Delight to Persons of your comprehensive Genius, to be better inform'd of the Circassian Mamalukes, Jenkîz Kaan, Hulácu and Tamerlane, nay even of the Holy War it felf, in which our European Princes were fo much concern'd. And I perswade my self, it could not but be a mighty Satiffaction to a Christian Divine, to have the most eminent of the Eastern Jews (who have written in Arabick) publish'd in a more fashionable and intelligible Language; to peruse the Liturgies of these Parts of the World, and to be acquainted with the Rites and Customs of the Christians there; not only the Orthodox, but the Nestorians, Eutychians, &c. And it would be agreeable enough to obferve,

ferve, that, notwithstanding their Difference among themselves, they all concur unanimously to condemn our Schismaticks.

But I forbear to trouble you, Sir, with a further Enlargement upon these Heads; who know these Matters too well to stand in need of any Information, and upon all Occasions shew your Readiness to encourage fuch noble Deligns. And I shall only crave leave to add, That I have prefum'd to prefent you with this Piece of my Labours, as a Token of my fincere Respect for you; there being no need of an Apology to you, for the Imperfections in this Performance, who are known to be a Perfon of fuch a generous Spirit, that in a thing that is well intended, however un-artfully mana-A 4

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#### The Dedication.

ged, your Sagacity is not more quick in discovering a Fault, than your Candour is ready to excuse it.

I am,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

Swaveley, August 16, 1708.

SIMON OCKLEY.



## PREFACE.

THE ARABIANS, a People as little taken Notice of by the Greek and Roman Authors, as could well be suppos'd, considering their Nearness and the Extent of their Country, have, since the time of Mahomet, rendred themselves so very considerable, both by their Arms and Learning, that theunderstanding their Affairs seems no less, if not more necessary than the being acquainted with the History of any People what soever, who have flourish'd since the Declension of the Roman Empire: Not only because they have had as great Men, and perform'd as considerable Actions, as any other Nation under Heaven; but, what is of more Concern to us Christians, because they were the first Ruin of the Eastern Church.

It might reasonably have been expected, that the Greeks, who bore the greatest share of that grievous Calamity, and whose Vices and Divisions, 'tis to be fear'd, brought it upon the Christian World, should have taken particular

Care

Care to have given a just Account of it. Whereas, on the contrary, they have been as jejune and sparing inthis Particular, as any tolerable Historian could have been suppos'd, relating Matters at a much greater distance. Not to enumerate a Catalogue of their Defects, I Shall content my self with producing the Words of an \* ingenious Author, who \*Continuation was very well aware of the Imperfecti-

man History,

of Echard's Ro- ons of the Greeks with relation to this vol. 4. p. 304. History, and fully expresses the true at the Year of Sense of that Matter in these Words: our Lord 637. This (fays be) in Substance is the Account of those Wars, and the Beginning of the Saracenical Empire, left us by the Grecian Writers of that Age, who are justly to be accus'd for their Succinctness and Obscurity, in a Subject that deferv'd to be more copiously handled; for undoubtedly it must needs have been various as well as furprizing in its Circumstances, containing no less than the subduing whole Nations, altering ancient Governments, and introducing a new Face of Affairs in the World. There is nothing more just than this Observation, and what Accounts must we then expect from those who compile Histories of the Saracens out of the Byzantine Historians?

I was no sooner convinc'd of this, but having, by the Study of their Language, fitted my self in some Measure for the Reading their Authors, I had a great Desire to attempt the communicating some Part of this bitberto unknown History to the World; being equally affeeted with Wonder and Concern, that, considering the Multitude of Learned Men which the last Age produc'd, it should have been so long neglected. But I conceive the Reason of that to have been, because those very few who were Masters of the Arabick Learning have been otherwise employ'd, and spent their .Time in paving the way for Posterity, by publishing such Books as were absolutely Necessary in order to the attaining a Competent Skill in that Difficult Language: Others, who have not been sufficiently acquainted with that Nation, having entertain'd too mean Opinion of them, looking upon them as meer Barbarians; which mistaken Notion of theirs, has hinder'd all further Enquiry concerning them.

As for those Great Men who first restor'd that learned, copious and elegant Language in this last Age to us Europeans; I mean Erpenius, Giggeius, Golius, Sionita, and our incomparable Dr. Dr. Pocock; it is not to be express' dhow much we are indebted to them for their Learned Labours, without which the Arabick Tongue would still have been inaccessible to us. But since there are other Persons of a quite different Taste, who, for want of due Information, have conceiv'd a wrong Opinion of the Arabians: it will not be amiss, before we give a particular Account of our present Undertaking, to speak something

concerning that People.

Before Mahomet's time they were Idolaters. They were always a Warlike People, seldom being at Peace either with one another or their Neighbours. They were divided into two forts; some of them living in Towns and Villages, others baving no fix'd, settled Habitations, liv'd in Tents, and remov'd from one part of the Country to another, according as their Necessities compell'd, or Conveniencies invited them. Their chief Excellency consisted in Breeding and Managing Horses, and the Use of Bows, Swords and Lances: Their Learning lay wholly in their Poetry, to which their Genius did chiefly incline them. MAHOMET and his Successors soon rooted out Idolatry, and united those jarring Tribes in the Profellion

fession of that new Superstition, which he pretended to have receiv'd by Inspiration from God, deliver'd to him im-

mediately by the Angel Gabriel.

For about 200 Years, little else was minded but War, except what concern'd the Interpretation of the Alcoran, and the Sects and Divisions among themselves upon that Account, which daily multiplied and increas'd upon them: But there was, as yet, no Curiosity of enquiring into Foreign Learning, nor defire of being acquainted with the Arts. and Sciences. At last, in Almamoun's Reign, who was the twenty seventh after Mahomet, and was inaugurated Caliph in the \* 198th Year of the Hegjrah, Learning began to be cultivated to a very great Degree, Mathematicks especially and Astronomy: And in order to promote it, that Noble Caliph spar'd no cost, either to procure such Greek Books as were serviceable to that Purpose, or to encourage Learned Men to the Study of them. Nor did the Sagacity and Application of that ingenious penetrating People in the least disappoint the Designs of their munificent Benefactor; their Progress in Learning, after they had once enter'd upon it, seeming no less wonderful than that of their

their Conquests; for in a few Yearstime they had plenty of Translations out of Greek, not only Mathematicians and Astronomers, but Philosophers, Botanists, and Physicians. Which Love of Learning was not confin'd to the Eastern Parts, but diffus'd throughout the whole Dominions of the Saracens, being first carried into Africa, (where they ere-Eted a great many Universities) and from thence into Spain: so that when Learning was quite lost in these Western Parts, it was restor'd by the Moors, to whom what Philosophy was understood by the Christians was owing. Greek not being understood in this Part of the World till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, which was in the Year of our Lord 1453. At which time several Learned Greeks escaping with their Libraries, and coming Westward, that Language was restor'd: Our former Philosophers and Schoolmen having contented themselves with Latin Translations, not only of Averroes, Alpharabius and Algazali, and other Mahometan Authors, but also of Aristotle and other Philosophers, which Translations of Greek Authors were not made out of the Original Greek, but out of the Arabick Versions which were immediately translated from the Greek.

Had they, after having taking the Pains to learn the Greek Tongue, with equal Care applied them selves to the Historians, as they did to the Philosophers; and fludied Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and such other Masters of correct Writing as that Language could have afforded them; we might have expetted from them a Succession of Historians worthy to write those great Actions which have been perform'd among them. But they never turn'd their Thoughts that way, studying Greek only for the sake of the Sciences, and not valuing either that or any other Language in respect of their own. Which the it must be granted, is extreamly fine and copious, so as to afford Words sufficient to treat handsomly upon any Subject what soever, is not sufficient of it self, any more than any other Language, to make a Man an Author. There being a manifest Difference between Language and Stile, insomuch that a Man may write in the best Language in the World, and use the most proper and significant Words in that Language, and at the same time not be fit to be read. For besides Propriety of Expression, there must a Justness and Exactness (not only with respect to the Choice of Materials, but to the Composition) shine through the whole, which

which is not to be attain'd without being well acquainted with such Authors as

are excellent that way.

The great Esteem which I have for the Eastern Learning, makes me heartily wish that we had not too much cause to complain of our Arabick Historians, as to this Particular; who for the aforesaid Reason have deprived us of a great deal of the Pleasure, and sometimes Profit, which we might otherwise have expetted from the reading them; They not having regard to the due Qualifications of an Historian, but telling things after a careless manner, and stuffing their Works with a great many trifling Materials, at other times jingling upon Words, and to shew the Copiousness of their Language, and Variety of Expression, spinning out a slender Matter of Fact into a long Story. So that it is a Work of Difficulty to follow or compile these Authors, which nevertheless deserves very well to be undertaken, and will abundantly recompence the Pains, at least of the Reader.

For in these Authors is contain'd an Account of all themost remarkable Actions done in the East and other Parts for above 1000 Years. During which space of Time Asia and Africa have been the Scene

Scene of as great Performances as ever they were in the Time of the Roman Empire, to which that of the Saracens was, in many respects, equal. And certainly it is a great deal of Pity, that we have not these things more enquired into, especially since they may be so easily come at. Were our Ignorance invincible, it would be excusable, but since somany Noble Benefactors have furnished us with such Variety of excellent Authors in this Kind, why should we starve our selves in the midst of Plenty?

It were most heartily to be wish'd, that we had a Compleat History of the Affairs of the East, especially to the Fall of the Saracenical Empire. It would be very well worth observing, how Learning first came in, grew and increas'd among the Saracens; and what Great Men they have had among them; all which would be very well comprehended in a History of the Caliphs or Successors of Mahomet, of which I here present the Reader with a Specimen.

I ought indeed to have begun with the Life of Mahomet, but that is already written by the Reverend and Learned Dr. Prideaux, now Dean of Norwich; in which Life, besides what does immediately concern Mahomet's Person, there

there are interspers'd other things Necessary to be known (by any Person that is desirous to be acquainted with the History of the East) which I have not repeated in my Book, but suppos'd to be already known to the Reader: Proceeding to write the Lives of the three immediate Successors of Mahomet, in which the Reader will plainly see by what Steps, and from how small Beginnings, that once contemptible People rose

to such a formidable Greatness.

In order to prosecute my Design, after I had made such a Draught out of Elmakin, Abu'lpharagius and Eutychius, as the Scantness of my Materials would afford, I was oblig'd to go to the Bodleian Library, which is without question, the best furnish'd with Oriental Manuscripts of any in Europe. For besides a great Number of the best Authors purchas'd by the University of Oxford, out of the Studies of Dr. Hyde, Dr. Huntington, and Dr. Pocock, not to mention Mr. Samuel Clark's, Gravius's or Selden's, there is an invaluable Colle-Etion given by that incomparable Prelate and Martyr of Bleffed Memory, Arch-bishop Laud; of whose great Virtues it would be superfluous to say any thing here, they being so well known and

and admir'd by all that know how to fet a just Value upon Learning and Piety. But his princely Munificence in being at that prodigious Expence to restore Oriental Learning in these Northern Climates, both by purchasing such an excellent Collection of Authors in that kind, and encouraging Men of Abilities to apply them selves that way, cannot, without the greatest Ingratitude, be pass'd by in Silence, by any one that has any due Regard to Oriental Learning. It was among the Manuscripts of that Reverend Prelate that I found the \* best \* MSS. Laud Copy of that Author, which I have here Num. A. 118. endeavour'd to make speak English, and of whom I am now going to give an Ac-

His Name is Abu Abdo'llah Mohammed Ebn Omar Alwakidi. At what time he liv'd I have not yet found any Information, nor could I, by the diligent Reading of him, make any Observation by which I could give a probable Guess. Perhaps the publishing an Author without giving an Account of his Age, may seem to some Readers to require an Apology; but I would desire such to consider, that the Case is not the same in these Studies as it is in Greek and Latin: In which there is such Plenty of excellent Editions

count.

Editions of most Author's easy to become at; and fuch Numbers of Criticks, Dictionaries, Chronologers and copious Indexes; that a Man (tho' no great Scholar) that does but know how to make use of a Book when he has it, may be almost sure of finding what he looks for. But, alas! the Case is vastly different here; we have but just as it were learn'd the Alphabet, and if we will know almost any thing further than the Ru diments of the Language, we must look for it in dusty Manuscripts, without Translation, without Index; destitute altogether of those Helps which facilitate other Studies.

However, tho' I cannot precifely fix his Age, it is most certain that he liv'd above two hundred Years after the Matter of Fact which he relates. For Page 313 he mentions Almotasem the Caliph, whose Reign began in the Year of our Lord 833. and if so,'tis the same thing as if he had liv'd six hundred Ye ars after. For that Author that lives 1000 Years after any Matter of Fact, is as much a Witness of it, as he that lives but at 200 Years Distance. They are both of them oblig'd take upon Trust, and if there be no Loss of good Authors during that Interval; he that

writes

writes latest is as credible an Historian

as the first.

Besides, the Particulars relating to the first rise of Kingdoms and Empires are generally obscure. The Reason of which is, because Arms take Place first, and a Government must be well establish'd, before Learning can get room to breath in. Wherefore in these Cases, it is allow'd by all, that those Accounts which have been banded down from time to time, and received by the best Judges, ought to be look'd upon as Authentick; nor was there ever any Person yet that enquir'd after the Age of Livy, in order to know how far he might be accounted a competent Relater of what was done in the Reigns of Romulus and Numa Pompilius.

In these Cases it is, as that excellent Author very well observes, Famærerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas sidem. When a long Interval of time has set things at too great a Distance, we must be content with the current Report, and rest satisfied with the best Account we can get. However, that Author consults his own Reputation, and his Readers Satisfaction most, who does not without Distinction set down every thing he meets with, but uses as much Caution as the Circumstances of the Matter will

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admit.

#### PREFACE.

admit. Our Author Alwakidi has not been wanting in this Particular. Sometimes he ushers in a Story after this manner, I have been inform'd by a credible Person. In another Place he says, "We " are inform'd by Moses Ebn Asem, who " had it from Jonas Ebn Abdo'llah, who " had it from his Grand-Father Abdo'r-"rahman Ebn Aslam Arrabii, who was " in the Wars of Syria. \* In that Place where he gives an Account of Derar and some others, who were put into Chests at Arrestân, be says, "I was inform'd by " Abmed Almatin Aljorhami, who had it " from Rephâa Ebn Kais Alámiri, who "had it from Saiph Ebn Jabalah Alchat-" gami, who had it from Thabet Ebn Al-"kamah, who faid he was prefent at the Action. These Expressions, (not to insinuatethat they may afford a Hint to guess at the Age of the Author) are most evident Proofs that he was as careful as he could, neither to be impos'd upon himself, nor to deceive his Reader. And tho' there are a great many such like Expressions dispers'd throughout his whole Work, yet I have not thought fit to intermix them in the History, because it is such a different way from what we are us'd to. However, I thought it necessary to give a Taste of it here for the Vindication of my Author. And

\* P. 214.

And certain it is, that such things as these, nay, of less Consideration, were thought a good Defence of Herodotus against Plutarch's Objections, by no less a Person than the Learned Harry Stephen.

Alwakidi's Design was not to write the Life of any particular Caliph, but to give an Account of the Conquest of Syria. I should have been very glad if he had given me an Opportunity of comparing him with some noble Greek or Latin Historian, but his maner of Writing will not allow it. He is chiefly valuable for this, that we find Materials in him which we have no where else, and he is not so sparing of them, but there is Liberty enough to pick and chuse. How I have succeeded in this Performance I must submit to the Judgment of the Learned Reader; only taking the Liberty to say, that tho' I have not transcrib'd my Author in every Particular, yet I have done him no Injury in any thing that I have related; nor have I taken a Liberty of Writing carelesty, in hopes of being secure from Discovery (the Language not being generally understood) but have us'd the same Diligence as I would have done, were I sure that every one of my Readers would instantly have collated my Book with the Manuscripts. The Archbishop's Copy which I chiefly

us'd

#### PREFACE.

us'd is 250 Years old; being written in the Year of the Hegjrah 863. of our Lord 1458. There is another Copy of it among Dr. Pocock's MSS. De Herbelot says there is one in the King of France his Library, which are all that I know of in Europe.

I have, as Occasion serv'd, made such Use of other Authors that were for my purpose, as the Shortness of the Time I could allow my self at Oxford would permit. Alwakidi writ also a History of the Conquest of Ægypt, which I have not met with; otherwise my Account of that Matter might have been more compleat. All that I can say is, that I have done what I could; and if this small Beginning shall be a means to excite any Person of greater Abilities and more Opportunity, to bring to light any Part of the Eastern History, I shall have Reason to think my Time very well Gent.

S. OCKLEY.

# A TABLE of the Months both in the Julian Solar, and the Arabian Lunar Year, with the Days collected.

<b>X</b>	Roman Months.	Days of she Months	Days collested.	In Biffexrile.	Arabian Months.	Days of the Months	Days collected.
1	Fanuary,	31	31	31	Moharram,	30	30
2	February,	28	59	60	Saphar,	29	
8	March,	31	90	91	Rebiyah, the First,	30	59 89
	April,	30	120	121	Rebiyah the Second,	29	118
3	May,	31	151	152	Jomada the First,	30	148
	Frane,	30	181	182	Jomada the Second,	29	177
	Fuly,	31	212	213	Rejeb,	30	207
	August,	31	243	244	Shaaban,	29	236
ı	September,	30	273	274	Ramadân.	30	266
	October,	31	394	305	Sjewâl,	29	295
1	November,	30	334	335	Du'lkaadah,	30	325
1	December,	31	365	366	Du'lhhegjah,	29	* 354

\*In that Year which is Intercalated (of which there are 11 in every 30, viz. 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29.) Dulhagjah has 30 Days.

The Arabian Year being Lunar, runs through the Solar Year, as the Reader may observe in the following Chronological Table. See Dr. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 85.

## A Chronological TABLE for 35 Years.

Years	Years of Christ,	Years of the Hegirah or Flight of Maho-		.appende
	reckoning			Saracenical
	from the	of the Month on which	Grecian Emperors.	Caliphs.
	first day of	they begin in the So-		
	January.	lar Year.	TALLED OF	The second is
5335	622	1. July 16	HERACLIUS.13	
3337	623	2. Fuly 5	14	North Call
7	624	3. Fun. 24	0 0 15	
8		4. Fun. 13	16	
9	626	5. Fun: 2	11 101 17	15 1 19 10 W. I.
5340	627	. 6. May 23	18	MAHOMET.
1	628	7. May 11	19	
2	629	8. May 1	1 11 20	
3	630	9. April 20	21	A STANDARD
4	631	10. April 9	22	ASSESSMENT OF
5345	632	11.March 29	23	ABUBEKER.
6	633	12.March 18	24	
7	634	13.March 7	. 25	OMAR.
7 8	635	14. Feb. 25	26	
9	636	15. Feb. 14	27	er teach is in the
5350	637	16. Feb. 3	28	k
1	638	17. Fan. 23	29	
2	639	18. Jan. 12	30	Takilant, 4
. 3	640	- 5 19. Fan. 2? 20. Dec. 215	31	1 mm
4	641	21. Dec. 10	32	
5355	642	22. Nov. 30.	Constantine reigns 4 Menshs, Heracleonas 6, CONSTANS, Son of Constan-	10
6	643	23. Nov. 19		OTHMAM.
7 8	644	24. Nov. 7	. 3	
8	645	25.0a. 28	4	3
9	646	26.OH. 17	5	
5360	647	27.08. 7	6	3
1	648	28. Sept. 25	7	•
2	649	29. Sept. 14	8	7
3 4	650	30. Sept. 4	7 8 9 10	•
4		31. Aug. 24		
r365	652	1 32. Aug. 12	11	10
6	653	33. Aug. 2	12	11
3	77	34. July 22	. 13	12
8	655	35. Fuly 11	14	ALI. I

### A Chronological TABLE for 35 Years.

#### Remarkable Actions or Accidents.

1.	Mahomet over-power'd at Meccah, flees to Medinah. This same Year
	Ali marries Phatemah, Mahomet's only Daughter. In the Second
	Year of the Hegirah was the Battle of Beder.
	Mahomet is inaugurated by his Followers, and made Supream in all Matters both
	Secred and Civil. The fame Year there was a Truce made between the Corafbites
	and Mahomet. In the 7th Year Mahomet takes Chaibar, where Zeinab a Jewish
	Young Woman gave him the Poilon of which he died.
	The Corafbites breaking the Truce, Mahomes goes against them with 10000 Men and takes Meccah.
1	Moseitamah prevends to prophecy. Mahamet goes his last Pilgrim ige to Meccah.
-	Mahomet dies at Medinah, and is buried in Ayesha's House.
•	and is builted in 11/1/10/10 5 110uic.
1	DAMASCUS taken.
	Baalbek taken. Bafora and Cufab are wall'd by Omar's Command:
	The great Battle at Yermouk.
	FERUSALEM furrendered into the Hands of the Saracans by Sophroni.
7	us. The Persians are beaten.
	Antioch taken.
	and include ones of the flague at Emaus, Amyou Emo t Has invades Aforth
4	
4	Johan taken by the Saracens.
4	
4	
4	
4	
4	
	Ispahan taken by the Saracens.
	OMAR is kill'd.
(	OMAR is kill'd.  (the Hands of the Saracens)
(	OMAR is kill'd.  (the Hands of the Saracens)
(	OMAR is kill'd.  (the Hands of the Saracens)
	OMAR is kill'd.  (the Hands of the Saracens (azdejerd, the last of the Persian Kings is kill'd: All Persia falls into
	OMAR is kill'd.  (the Hands of the Saracens Kings is kill'd: All Persia falls into About this time the Saracens began to complain of Othman, who to
	OMAR is kill'd.  (the Hands of the Saracens  About this time the Saracens began to complain of Othman, who tappease them, put Mahomet Son of Abubeker into the Lieutenancy of
	OMAR is kill'd.  (the Hands of the Saracens Kings is kill'd: All Persia falls interested that the Saracens began to complain of Othman, who to

N. B. That in the Arabick Words, j Consonant and ou are pronounc'd as in French.

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### HISTORY

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### SARACENS.

Abubeker, First Caliph after Mahomet. Abubeker.

ftor, and Founder of the Sa-A. D. 632.

racenical Empire, died at Medinah, on \* Monday the fixth of Elmakia Chap. 1.

Hundred and thirty two, being the twenty fecond Year of the Reign of Heraclius the Grecian Emperor. After he was dead, the next care to be taken was for a Succeffor; and it was indeed very necessary that there should be one provided as soon as might be: for their Government and Religion being both, as yet, very tender, and a great many

+ Elmakin. Abu'lpharagius.

Abubeker. of Mahomet's Followers being no great Bigots, as not having yet forgotten their ancient Rites and Customs, but rather forced to leave them for fear, than upon any Conviction; Affairs were in fuch a Posture as could by no means admit of an Interregnum. Wherefore the t fame Day that he expired, the Muslemans met together in order to the Election of a Caliph or Successor. In which Affembly there had like to have been such a Fray, as might, in all Probability, had not Omar and Abubeker timely interposed, have greatly endangered, if not proved the utter Ruin of this new Religion and Polity. For this false Prophet of theirs having left no politive Directions concerning a Successor, or at least, they not being known to any but his Wives, who in all Probability might conceal them out of their Partiality in Favour of Omar, a hot Difpute arose between the Inhabitants of Meccah and Medinah: Those of Meccah claiming most Right in the Prophet, as being his Countrymen and Relations, and having embraced his Religion first; and not only fo, but having accompanied him in his Flight for Religion from Meccah to Medinah, when he, being perfe-

persecuted at Meccah, was forced to make his Escape with manifest Hazard of his Life. They urged that nothing could be of fo great Use to his Person and Caufe, as this Service of theirs, and confequently none could pretend to have fo great a Right of naming a Succeffor as themselves. The Inhabitants of Medinah, with no less Vehemency. urged that the Prophet and their Religion were as much beholden to them as to the others, because they had received him in his Flight, and by their Help and Assistance put him in a Capacity of making Head against his powerful Enemies; and that they had as much a Right in the Prophet as any others whatfoever, for protecting him in the time of his Adversity, and upon that score insisted upon the Right of electing a Caliph. In short, they came to Daggers drawing, and were just upon falling from Words to Blows, when one of the | Anfars, or Inhabitants of | Arab. The Medinah, a Man something more mo-Helpers, bederate than the rest, fearing the Conse- ped Mahomet quences of this Disturbance, call'd out when he fled to in the midst of the Company, that they Medinah. would have two Caliphs, that is, each Party one. But Abubeker and the rest of

Abubeker. the Mohagerins or Inhabitants of Meccah, did by no means approve of fuch an Accommodation, being desirous that the whole Government should remain in the Hands of their own Party. Then Abubeker stepped forth and told them, that he would name two Persons, and they should chuse which of them both Parties could agree upon. The one was Qmar, the other Abu Obeid. Upon which Motion the Company was again divided, and the Contention renewed afresh, one Party still crying out for the one, and the other for the other. At last Omar being wearied out, and feeing no Likelihood of deciding the Matter, was willing to give over, and bad Abubeker give him his Hand; which he had no fooner done, but Omar promised him Fealty. The rest all followed his Example, and so by the Consent of both Parties Abubeker was at last saluted Caliph, and acknowledg'd the rightful Successor of their Prophet Mahomet, and was now absolute Judge of all Causes both Sacred and Civil. And thus that Difference was at last, with much ado, composed, which had like to have been fatal to Mahometanism. And certainly it was very great Overfight in Mahomet

Abubeker.

bomet not to name a Successor positively and publickly all the time of his Sickness; which if he had done, his Authority had without question determined the Business, and prevented that Disturbance, by which the Religion which he had been planting with so much Difficulty and Hazard, had like to have been endanger'd.

\*One Author tells us, that Mahomet, \* Ahmed Ebn Mohammed when he was fick, commanded fome Ebn Abdi that were about him to bid Abubeker Rabbihi. M. S. fay Prayers publickly in the Congrega- Arab. Huntion: Which Desire of his to have A- Num. 554. bubeker officiate in his Place, looks very much as if he defign'd he should succeed him; and was fo understood by his Wives Ayesha and Haphsah, who were both present when Mahomet gave this Order, and endeavour'd what they could to have it revok'd. For as foon as Mahomet had spoken, Ayesha told him, that if Abubeker went into his Place (meaning the Pulpit from which he us'd to speak to the People) the Congregation would not be able to hear him for weeping, and defir'd him to order Omar to go up; which he refufing, Ayeshaspoke to Haphsah to second The Importunity of them both

Abubeker.

Abasada Eba haramsda)

2 M. Addocto S

Arab. Hode.

put the Prophet into such a violent Passion, that he told them they were as bad as Joseph's Mistress, and commanded them again to fend Abubeker. To which Haph fab answered, O Apostle of God, now thou art sick, and hast preferr'd Abubeker. He answer'd, 'Tis not I that have given him the Preference, but God.

The Contest which happen'd immediately after his Decease makes it evident, that these Words of his had no Influence in the Election of Abubeker, but that it was chiefly owing to Omar's Nom SSE. Refignation. Who not with standing that he was the first that proposed Abubeker to the Affembly, and own'd him as Caliph, did not fo well approve afterwards of that Choice, which Necessity put him upon at that critical Juncture, as appears by what he faid. The Contents of which were, \* " That he pray'd to "God to avert the ill Confequences " which it was to be feared would fol-" low upon fuch an indifcreet Choice.

> "That if ever any one should do such " a thing again, he would deferve Death; and if any one should ever " fwear Fealty to another without the " Confent of the rest of the Muslemans,

" both

\* Abu'lpharagius.

" both he that took the Government Abubeker. " upon him, and he that fwore to him.

" ought to be put to Death. Thefe and other fuch like Expressions were evident Signs of his Dislike; bur it being done and past, there was no other Remedy, but to fit down at quiet, and rest himself contented.

Now though the Government was actually fettled upon Abubeker, yet all Parties were not equally fatisfy'd; for a great many were of Opinion, that the Right of Succession did belong to Ali. the Son of Abu Taleb. Upon which account the Mahometans were ever fince that time divided; fome maintaining that Abubeker, and these other two, Omar and Othman, that came after him, were the rightful and lawful Successors; and others disclaiming their Title altogether as Usurpers, and constantly afferting the Right of Ali. Of the former Opinion are the Turks at this Day; of the latter, the Persians. Which makes such a Difference between those two Nations, that notwithstanding their Agreement in other Points of their Superstition, they do upon this account treat one another as most damnable Hereticks. Ali had this to re-C 2 commend

Abubeker. Elmakin.

commend him, that he was Mahomet's Cousin German, and was the \* first that embrac'd his Religion, except his Wife Cadijah, and his Slave Zeid, and besides was Mahomet's Son in Law, having marry'd his Daughter Phatemah. Abubeker was Mahomet's Father in Law. and was very much respected by him, fo that he gave him the Sirname of Assiddick, which fignifies in Arabick, one that is a great Speaker of Trutht, because he resolutely afferted the Truth of that Story which Mahomet told of his. Il going one Night to Heaven. And oftentimes he us'd to express a great deal of Kindness for him. \* Once as he faw him coming towards him, he faid mâk, M. S. A- to those that were about him: If any one takes delight in looking upon a Man that has escaped from the Fire of Hell, let him look upon Abubeker. God, whose Name be bleffed, bath given Man his Choice of this World or that which is with him, and this Servant (meaning Abubeker) hath chosen that which is with God. Such Marks of Esteem as these

> must needs procure him a great Respect from those who look'd upon Mahomet as a Person inspired, and the Apostle of God; and did without question facili-

+ Elmakin,

|| Alcoran. Chap. XVII.

\* Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dokrab. Laud. Num. 806.11.

tate

tate his Promotion to the Dignity of Abubeker.

Calipb.

Ali was not present at this Election, and when he heard the News, was not well pleas'd, as hoping that he should have been the Man. Abubeker fent || Ifmael Abu'l-Omar to Phatemah's House, where Ali Pheda Kitab and some of his Friends were, with phi Acbari'l-Orders to compel them to come in by bashar. M. S. Force, if they would not do it by fair Num. 330. means. Omar was just a going to fire the House, and Phatemab ask'd him, what he meant? He told her, that he would certainly burn the House down, unless they would be content to do as the rest of the People had done. Upon which Ali came forth and went to Abubeker and acknowledged his Sovereignty t, tho' he did not forget to tell him, + Abu'lpharathat he wondred he would take fuch a gius, thing without his notice. To which Abubeker answer'd, that the Exigency of the Matter was fuch as would by no means admit of Deliberation, because if it had not been done on a suddain, 'twas to be fear'd that the Government would have been wrung out of their Hands by the opposite Party. And, to make things flide the more easily, seem'd to be desirous of quitting his Charge C 3

\* Elmakin, Chap. 2. and refigning the Government: And so goes up into the Pulpit, and there openly before them all desir'd, that they would give him Leave to refigh, and confer that Charge upon some more worthy Person; but Ali, fearing theill Will of the People, \* whose Minds he perceiv'd were estranged from him, for having already stood it out so long, and being loath to make any new Diffurbance, utterly refus'd to hear of it, and told him, that they would neither depose him themselves, nor desire that he should resign. And thus things were pretty well accommodated, and those of Medinah, as well as those of Meccah, confented to own Abubeker, as the true and rightful Successor of their Prophet Mahomet; only Ali, the' he made no stir, look'd upon himself as injur'd !, and there is a Story told by Tradition, which is reported to have been deliver'd by Ayesha, that Ali did not come in till after the Decease of his Wife Phatemah. who liv'd 6 Months after the Death of Mahomet her Father.

|| Abu'lpheda.

+ Abu'lphara-

† Abubeker being thus fix'd in his new Government, had Work enough to fecure it; for the Mahometan Religion had not as yet taken such deep Root in the Hearts

Hearts of Men, but that they would Abubeker very willingly have shaken it off again, if they had known how. The Arabians therefore, being a People of an unquiet restless Disposition, would not omit this Opportunity of rebelling, which they thought was fairly offer'd them by the Death of Mahomet, but immediately take Arms, and refuse to pay theusual Tribute, Tithes and Alms, and to neglect those Rites and Customs, which had been impos'd upon them by Mahomet. Abubeker, and those about himat Medinah, took the Alarm, and fearing a general Revolt, and expecting no less than to be beset on every Side, began to consider which way they might best provide for the Security of themselves and their Families. In order to which, they dispos'd of their Women and Children, and fuch others as were not able to bear Arms, in the Clefts and Cavities of the Rocks and Mountains, and put themselves in a Posture of Defence.

In the mean time, Abubeker sends Caled Ebn Waled, with an Army of four thoufand and five hundred Men, to suppress the Rebels, who having routed them in a set Battle, brought off a great deal of Plunder, and made Slaves of their

The

Children.

Abubeker.

\* Abu'lpheda.

\* The chief amongst those that refus'd to pay the Zecat, which is that part of a Man's Substance, which is confecrated to God, as Tithes, Alms, and the like, and is strictly enjoyn'd by the Mahometan Law, was Malec Ebn Noweirah, a Man that made a confiderable Figure in those Days, being the chief of an eminent Family among the Arabs, and celebrated for his Skill in Poetry, as well as his Manhood and Horsemanship. Abubeker sent Caled to him, to talk with him about it, Malec told him, that he could say his Prayers without paying that. Caledask'd him, if he did not know that Prayers and Alms must go together, and that the one would not be accepted without the other? What! does your Master say so? fays Malec. Then don't you own him for your Master? said Caled; and swore that he had a good Mind to strike his Head off. They disputed the Matter a while; and, at last, Caled told him he should die. Did your Master say so? says Malec. What! again? fays Caled, and resolv'd upon his Death, tho' Abdo'llah Ebn Amer and Kobadabinterceded for him in vain. When Malec faw there was no way for him to escape, he turn'd

turn'd him about, and looked upon his Wife, who was a Woman of admirable Beauty, and faid, This Woman has kill d me. Nay, fays Caled, God has kill dthee. because of thy Apostacy from the true Religion. I profess the true Religion, says Melec, meaning the Mahometan. The Word was no fooner out of his Mouth. but Caled order'd Derar Ben Alazwar. a Person we shall see more of hereaster. to strike his Head off. At which Abubeker was very much concern'd, and would have put Caled to Death, if Omar had not interceded for him: And indeed he did out of his great Zeal exceed the Limits of his Commission; for Mabomet himself would have pardon'd an Apostate, provided he had been very well affur'd of his Repentance.

Having this Opportunity of mentioning this great Man Caled, we must not pass him by, without taking some Notice of his Character. He was the best General of the Age he live'd in, and it was to his Courage and Conduct that the Saracens chiefly owe the subduing of the Rebels, the Conquest of Syria, and the Establishment of their Religion and Polity. 'Tis to be question'd whether his Love and Tender-

ness

ness towards his own Soldiers, or his Hatred and Aversion to the Enemies of the Mahometan Religion, was greatest; for upon all Occasions he us'd to give very fignal Instances of both. He was a most irreconcileable and implacable Enemy to those who had once embrac'd the Mahometan Religion, and then apostatiz'd; nor would he spare them, tho' shewing the greatest Signs of unfeigned Repentance. His Valour was fo furprifing, that the Arabs call'd him The Sword of God; which Sir-name of his was known alfo to his Enemies, and is † mentioned as well by Greek as à Xahe A & Arab Authors. If it did at any time (which was not often) carry him beyond the Bounds of his Conduct, it always brought him off fafe again. He never, in the greatest Danger, lost his wonted Presence of Mind, but could as well extricate himself and his Men from present Difficulties, as prevent future ones.

By him the Rebels being suppress'd, the Mahometans were in some meafure eas'd of the Fear they stood in before, but there were still more Difficulties behind: for about this time feveral, perceiving the Successand Pro-

**iperity** 

t'EERADEN dees Auspes regros ud-Xalpar T8 Os8. Theophanes, p, 278 Edit. Parif.

perity of Mahomet and his Followers, et up for Prophets too, in Hopes of the like good Fortune, and making themfelves eminent in the World: Such wee Osud Alabbasi and Tuleihah Ebn Choweiled, with feveral others, which quickly came to nothing. But the most considerable of these was Moseilam, who had emulated Mahomet in his Lifetime, and trumpt up a Book in Imita. tion of the Alcoran. He had formerly been with \* Mahomet, and profess'd \* Abu'l pheda. himself of his Religion, and might have been Partner with him in his Imposture; but looking upon that to be beneath him, he utterly renounc'd all further Familiarity and Correspondence with him, and was refolv'd to fet up for himfelf, which he did the Year before Mahometdied. He had now gather'd together a very considerable Body of Men in Temamah, a Province of Arabia, and began to be so formidable that the Muslemans were under fome Apprehensions of his growing Greatness, and did not think it any way confishent with Prudence to neglect him any longer, knowing very well, that as foon as he should be strong enough, they and their Religion would quickly come to nothing. They

Abubeker.

They therefore thought it most adviseable to fet upon him first, and rather hazard the Event of a Battle at the Beginning, than by fuffering him to go on too long, and gather more Strength, frustrate all manner of Hopesofa Victory. Upon this they move Abubeker to fend sufficient Forces, under the Conduct of some experienc'd Commander, in order to destroy him. Abubeker forthwith dispatches Akramab and \* Serjil, with an Army, and Order to march directly towards Temamah. After them he fends Caled, the Scourge of Rebels, Apostates and False Prophets, who having join'd Forces with them, they had an Army of † forty thousand Muslemans. Moseilam, in the mean time, was not idle, and knowing that his Life and Reputation were now at Stake, prepar'd to give them Battle. The Muslemans || Abu'lphara-||encamped at a Place call'd Akreba: and Moseilam, with his Army, was just opposite to them. They drew near as fast as they could, and Moseilam charged the Muslemans with such Fury, that they were not able to make good their Ground against him, but were forced

to retire with the Loss of 1200 Men. The Muslemans rather provoked than

dif-

+ Elmakin.

Or rather,

Serjabil.

gius.

discouraged by this Defeat, not long after renewed the Fight, and then began a most bloody Battle, Moseilam all the while behaving himself courageously, was at last thrust thro' with a lavelin, (\* the fame with which \* Abnbeker. Hamza, Mahomet's Uncle, was kill'd) by a Slave a Black. He being dead, the Victory easily enclined to the Muflemans; who having killed the false Prophet, and ten thousand of his Men. and obliged those that were left to turn Mahometans, returned to Medinah, the Seat of the Caliph, richly laden with

This same Year, being the first of Abubeker's Reign, Al Ola was fent with a confiderable Army to reduce the Rebels in Bahrein, which he did without any great Difficulty, killing a great many of them, and feizing their Effects, so that a great many of them chose rather to return to the Mahometan Superstition, which upon the Death of Mahomet they had forfaken, than expose themselves, by obstinately standingit out, to all the Miferies and Calamities of War.

the Spoil of their Enemies.

'Tis strange and surprising, to confider from how mean and contemptible

ble Beginnings the greatest things have, by the Providence of God, been raifed in a short time, of which the Saracenical Empire is a very confiderable Instance; for if we look back about eleven Years, we shall find how Mahomet, unable to support his Cause, routed and oppress'd by the powerful Party of the Korashites at Meccah, attended by a very small Number of his despairing Followers, fled to Medinah, no less for the Prefervation of his Life, than his Imposture: And now, within so short a time after, we find the Undertakings of his Successor prosper so much beyond Expectation, as to become a Terror to all his Neighbours; and the Saracens in a Capacity not only of keeping in their own Hands their Peninsula of Arabia, but of extending their Arms over larger Territories, than ever were subject to the Romans themselves. Whilst they were employed in Arabia, they were little regarded by the Grecian Emperor, who now too late felt them pouring in upon him like a Torrent, and driving all before them. The proud Perfian too, who so very lately had been domineering in Syria, and facked Jerufalem and Damascus, must be forc'd to part

part with his own Dominions, and fub. Abubeker! mit his Neck to the Saracenic Yoke. It may be reasonably suppos'd, that, had the Empire been in the fame flourishing Condition as it had been formerly, they might have been checked at least, if not extinguished: But besides that the Western Empire had been torn away by the barbarous Goths, the Eastern part of it had received fo many Shocks from the Hunns on the one fide, and the Persians on the other, that it was not in a Capacity to stop the Violence of such a powerful Invasion. \* In the Emperor Maurici- \* Theophyla. us his Time, the Empire paid Tribute ctus Simocatto the Chagan or King of the Hunns. Maurician. † And after Phocas had murder'd his Ma- + Theopha-Her, such lamentable havock there was of Heraclitus. among the Soldiers, that when Heraclius came not much above feven Years after to muster the Army, there were only two Soldiers left alive, of all those who bore Arms when Phocas first ufurped the Empire. And tho' Henaclius was a Prince of admirable Courage and Conduct, and had done what poffibly could be done to restore the Discipline of the Army, and had had great Success against the Persians, so as to drive

drive them not only out of his Dominions, but even out of their own; yet still the very Vitals of the Empire seem'd to be mortally wounded; that there could no time have happen'd more fatal to the Empire, nor more favourable to the Enterprizes of the Saracens, who feem to have been raifed up on purpose by God to be a Scourge to the Christian Church, for not living anfwerably to that most Holy Religion

which they had received.

Abubeker had now fet Affairs at home in pretty good Order. The Apostates, which upon the Death of Mahomet had revolted to the Idolatry in which they were born and bred up, were reduc'd. The Forces of Moseilamab, the false Prophet, were broken to Pieces, and himfelf killed: fo that there was little or nothing now left to be done in Arabia. For tho' there were a great many Christian Arabs, as particularly the Tribe of Gassan, yet they were generally employ'd in the Grecian Emperor's Service. So that the next Business the Caliph had to do, was, pursuant to the Tenor of his Religion, to make War upon his Neighbours for the Propagation of the Truth, (for fo they call their Super-

Superstition) and compel them either Abubeker. to become Mahometans or \* Tributa- \* Alcoran, ries. † For their Prophet Mahomet had Chap. IX. 29. given them a Commission of a very + See the Alco-large, nay unlimited Extent, which VIII 40. was to fight till all People were of their Religion. And those Wars which are undertaken upon this account, they call Holy Wars, with no less Absurdity than we call that fo which was once undertaken against them by the Europeans. Abubeker therefore fends Caled with fome Forces into Irak or Babylonia: but his greatest Longing was after Syria, which being a delicate, pleasant, fruitful Country, and near to Arabia, seem'd to lie very conveniently for him. || After || Photouhho'he had fully resolv'd to invade it, he sham, i. e. call'd his Friends about him, and made of Syria, writa Speech; in which he fet before them ten by Abu the great Success they had been pro- Abdollah Mofper'd with already, and told them that Omar Alwathe Phophet [Mahomet] had affur'd him kidi, M. S. Abefore his Decease, that their Religion Num. A. 118. should make a great Progress, and their And there is a-Territories be vastly enlarged, and that it among Dr. he had Thoughts himself of invading Pocock's MSS:

Syria: But since it had pleas'd God to Out of this Auprevent the Prophet's Designs by taking thor whatever him away, and he was left Successor, relates to Syria

he most part.

Abubeker. Alwákidi. he desired their Advice. They answer'd unanimously, that they were all at his Service, and ready to obey to the utmost of their Power whatsoever he should be pleas'd to command them. Upon this he sends circular Letters to the petty Princes of Arabia Fælix, and other Mahometan Officers and Præsects, and to the Inhabitants of Meccah in particular, to command them to raise the utmost of their Forces, and with all possible speed repair to him at Medinah. The Contents of the Letter were as follows.

\* These were Abubeker's Sirnames. In the Name of the most merciful God.

\* Abdollah Athik Ebn Abi Kohâpha, to the rest of the true Believers Health and Happiness, and the Mercy and Blessing of God be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his Prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true Believers into Syria, to take it out of the Hands of the Insidels. And I would have you know, that the sighting for Religion is an Act of Obedience to God.

He had sent this Letter out but a few Days, e'er the Messenger that carried it returned, and brought him word,

that

Alwákidi.

that he had not deliver'd his Letter to Abubeker. any one Person but what had receiv'd it with great Expressions of Satisfaction, and a Readiness to comply with his Commands. And accordingly in a short time after, a very considerable Army, raifed out of the feveral Provinces of Arabia, came to wait upon him at Medinah, and pitched their Tents round about the City. waited some time, without receiving any Orders from the Caliph. And the Weather was so extreamly hot, and the Country fo barren, that they were very hard put to it for Provision both for themselves and their Horses. Which made them complain to their Officers, and defire them to speak to Abubeker about it. Upon which one of them made bold to tell him, You were pleas'd to fend for us, and we obey'd your Commands with all possible speed; and now we are come here we are kept in such abarren Place, that we have nothing to subsist our Army. Therefore if your Mind be altered, and you have no further Occasion for us, be pleas'd to dismiss us. The rest of the Heads of the Tribes seconded him. Abubeker told them, that he was far from defigning them any Injury in detaining them

Abubeker. Alwákidi. them folong, but only he was willing to have his Army as compleat as he could. To which they answered, That they had not left a Man behind them that was fit for Service. Then Abubeker went with fome of his Friends to the Top of an Hill, to take a View of the Army, and pray'd to God to endue them with Courage, and affift them, and not deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. Afterwards he walked on Foot with them a little way, and the Generals rode. At last they told him, that they were asham'd to ride whilst he was on Foot. To which he answered, I shall find my Account with God for these Steps, and you ride for the Service of God. Meaning, that there was no Difference in that Matter, fo long as they were all concern'd in the propagating their Religion. Then he took his Leave of them, and directed his Speech to Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan, whom he had appointed General of these Forces, after this manner. Yezid, be fure you do not oppress your own People, nor make them uneasy, but advise with them in all your Affairs, and take Care to do that which is right and just, for those that do otherwise shall not prosper. When you meet with

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

with your Enemies, quit your selves like Men, and don't turn your Backs; and if you get the Victory, kill no little Children, nor old People, nor Women. Destroy no Palm-Trees, nor burn any Fields of Corn. Cut down no Fruit-Trees, nor do any Mischief to Cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any Covenant or Article, stand to it, and be as good as your Word. As you go on, you will find some religious Persons that live retired in Monasteries, who propose to themselves to serve God that way: Let them alone, and neither kill them, nor destroy their Monasteries. And you will find another fort of People that belong to the Synagogue of Satan, who have shaven Crowns; be sure you cleave their Skulls, and give them no Quarter, till they either turn Mahometans or pay Tribute. When he had given them this Charge, he went back to Medinah, and the Army marched on towards Syria.

The News of this Preparation quickly came to the Ears of the Emperor Heraclius, who call'd a Council forthwith, and inveighed against the Wickedness and Infincerity of his Subjects, and told them that these Judgments were come upon them because they had not lived

D<sub>3</sub> answe-

Abubeker: Alwákidi.

answerably to the Rules of the Gospel. He represented to them, that whereas in former times, powerful Princes, as the Turk and Persian, had not been able to overcome them, they were now infulted by the Arabs, apitiful, contemptible People. Then he fent fome Forces with all possible speed, but with ill Success, for their General with twelve hundred of his Men was kill'd upon the fpot, and the restrouted, the Arabs in that Battle losing only 120 Men. There were afterwards a great many Skirmishes, in which the Christians came off by the worst. The Arabs enriched with Spoil, concluded to make the Caliph a Present of all they had gotten, as the first Fruits of their Expedition; Arms and Ammunition only excepted. So foon as Abubeker had received the Spoil, he fent a Letter to the Inhabitants of Meccab, and the adjacent Territories, in which he acquainted them with the good fuccess of his Forces, and call'd upon them not to be behind hand in fighting for the Caufe of God. The good Success of their Brethren gave them fuch Encouragement, that they obey'd the Motion with as much Chearfulness, as if their being called to war,

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

had been nothing else but being invited to partake of the Spoil. Whereupon they quickly raifed an Army, and waited upon Abubeker at Medinah, who forthwith ordered them to join those Forces which he had before fent into Syria. He had made Saëd Ebn Caled General of this Army; but when Omar express'd his Dislike of it, the Caliph was in a Streight, being loath to take away Saëd's Commission as soon as he had given it him; and on the other hand, not willing to disoblige Omar. In this Difficulty he applies himself to Ayesha, (Mahomet's Widow) for whom they had a great Respect upon the Account of her near Relation to their Prophet Mahomet, and us'd frequently to consult her after his Decease, suppofing that she being his best beloved Wife, might be better acquainted with his Thoughts both of Persons and Things than any other. When he came to her, she told him, that for Omar's part he meant for the best when he gave that Advice, and that she was fure he did not speak it out of any Hatred or ill Will. Upon this Abubeker sends a Messenger to Saëd, to remand the Standard, which he very patiently

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Abubeker. Alwakidi, resigned, and said, He cared not who had the Standard; let who so ever will have it, he was resolv'd to sight under it for the Propagation of Religion. So vehement and earnest were those Men whom God had raised up to be a Scourge to the Church, that no Affront what so ever could disoblige them so far as to make them lay aside their Resolutions.

Whilst the Caliph was in doubt how to dispose of this Commission, Amrou Ebno'l Aas, avery good Soldier, who afterwards conquered Ægypt, went to Qmar, and defired him to make use of his Interest with the Calipb, that it might be conferred upon him. But Omar, whether out of any Antipathy to his Person, or because he thought no Man worthy of a Charge that fought after it, utterly refus'd to meddle in it. And when Amrou perfisted, and was very instant with him, Omar bad him not feek for the Superiority and Dominion of this World; and told him, That if he was not a Prince to Day, he would be one to Morrow; meaning in a future State. And now Amrou was out of all Hopes of having any Command; when presently the Caliph, of his own accord, made him General of this Army, and bad

bad him, "Take Care to live religi-"oufly, and let the enjoying the Pre-

" fence of God and a future State, be the End and Aim of all his Under-

" takings, and look upon himself as a

" dying Man, and always have regard

to the End of things; and remember that we must in a short time all

" die, and rife again, and be called to

" an account. He ordered him not to

" go where the other Muslemans had

" been before him, but march into

" Palestine. And that he should take

" care to inform himself of Abu Obei-

" dab's Circumstances, and affist him

" what he could. That he should not be inquisitive about Mens private

"Concerns; but take care that his

66 Men were diligent in reading the

"Men were diligent in reading the "Alcoran, and not suffer them to talk

" about those Things which were done

" in the Times of Ignorance (so they

" call all the time before Mahomet)

" because that would be the Occasion

" of Diffention among them.

After he had difmis'd Amrou, he fent Abu Obeidah into Syria, to command all the Forces there, and told him, that there was no need of saying any thing new to him, since he had

Abubeker. Alwákidi. Abubeker. Alwákidi,

had heard the Charge he had given to Amrou. One of the Grecian Emperor's Generals had the good Fortune to beat the Muslemans in Syria; and Abu Obeidah, apprehensive of the Emperor's Power, durst not act offensively. Which as foon as the Caliph understood, he judg'd him unworthy of that Post, and recalled Caled from Irak to take his Place. Caled had performed great Things, considering the short time he had been gone. He had taken Hirah, (afterwards the Imperial Seat of Alleffah) and feveral other Places, not able to endure a Siege, had submitted to him, and paid Tribute. Elmakin fays, that this was the first Tribute that was brought to Medinah. He had fought feveral Battles in which he never fail'd of Succefs, and would without doubt have pushed on his Conquest if he had not been recalled. When he came into Syria, he took different Measures from those which had been used before; and the Soldiers found a great deal of Difference between a pious and a warlike General. Abu Obeidah was patient, meek and religious; Caled courageous and enterprizing. At

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

At that time when he came to the Army, Abu Obeidah had fent Serjabil with four thousand Horse towards Bostra, a City of Syria Damascena, and very populous, in which there were at that time twelve thousand Horfe. It was a great trading Town, which the Arabs used to frequent much. The Governour's Name was Romanus. who, as foon he heard that the Saracens were upon their March, went to meet them, and asked Serjabil the Reason of his Coming, and several other Questions relating to Mahomet and his Successor. Serjabil told him, that the Reason of their Coming was to give them their Choice of becoming Mahometans or Tributaries; and added, that they had taken Aracab, Sachnah, Tadmor, and Hawran, and would not be long before they came to Bostra. The Governour, hearing this melancholly Story, went back, and would have perfuaded the People to have paid Tribute. They utterly refufed it, and prepar'd themfelves for a vigorous Defence, Serjabil continued his March till he came before Bostra; the Besieged sallied out, and gave him Battle. The Prayer which he used was

this:

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

this: Othou Eternal Being! Othou Creator of Heaven and Earth! Othou who art Great and Munificent! who hast promised us Victory by the Tongue of thy Prophet Mahomet, and the Conquest of Syria, Irak and Persia! O God confirmour Hopes, and help those who affert thy Unity against those that deny thee. O God afall us as thou didit thy Prophet Mahomet. O Lord endue us with Patience, + Alcoran III. and † keep our Feet sure, and help us against the Insidels. The Christians had the Advantage by much in that Battel, and the Saracens were like to have been beaten off, if Caled had not come seafonably to their Relief: But his Arrival turn'd the Fortune of the Day, and the Besieged were forced to retire into the City. Then Caledasked Serjabil, what he meant by attacking fuch a Place as Bostra, which was as it were the Market-Place of Syria, Irak, and Hejaz, and where there was always fuch a great Refort of all forts of Persons, and a great many Officers and Soldiers, with fuch an handful of Men? Serjabil told him, that he did not go of his own Accord, but by Abu Obeidah's Command. Abu Obeidah, said Caled, is a very honest Man, but understands nothing of military Af-

fairs.

fairs. Then Caledtook Care and refresh- Abubeker. ed his Men, and order'd them to rest, for Alwakidi. they were all extreamly fatigu'd, as well those that had marched that Day with him, as those that had fought under Serjabil; only he took a fresh Horse himself, and rode about all Night, fometimes going round the City, and fometimes round the Camp, for fear the Besieged should make any Excursions, especially at such a time as his Men were tired, and out of Order: In the Morning, about break of Day, he came into the Camp, and the Muslemans arose, and, according to their Custom, fome of them purify'd themselves with Water; and others, who could not conveniently furnish themselves with Water, rubb'd themselves with Sand, (for that is allowed in Case of Necessity, and is frequently used, especially by fuch Mahometans as travel in those defart Countries, where there is great Scarcity of Water) and their General Caled faid the Morning-Prayer among them, and then they took Horse immediately, for the Besieged had set open the Gates of the City, and drawn out their Men into the Plain, and taken an Oath to be true to one another, and fight

Abubeker Alwákidi.

fight it out to the last Man; which when Caled faw, he faid, Thefe Villains come out now, because they know we are weary: Come, let us go on, and the Bleffing of God go along with us. Both Armies were fet in Battle Array, and now Romanus the Governour, who thought it the best way to secure himself and his Wealth, tho'at the Expence of Honour, Soul, and Conscience, took an Opportunity to let Caled know, that he had more Friends than he was aware of. He rides before the rest of the Army, and with a loud Voice challenges the Saracen General, who quickly came forth to him; he tells him, that he had for a long time entertain'd a favourable Opinion of the Mahometan Religion, and feemed to be very willing to renounce his own, upon Condition that Caled would fecure him, and what belong'd to him; which he readily promifed. Romanus added, that he had, upon Serjabil's first coming to besiege the Town, advis'd the Inhabitants to fubmit to the Muslemans, and pay Tribute; but that instead of being heard, he had only purchased the ill Will of the Citizens by his good Counsel. In short, he faid whatever he could think on that might

might ingratiate himfelf with the Sara-Abubeker. cen, and proffer'd his Service to go back Alwakidi. again, and perswade the Besieged to surrender. Caled told him, that it would not be fafe for him to go back again, without having first fought with him, because then it would appear plainly how well they were agreed, which might occasion some Danger to him from his own People: So they agreed to make a Shew of fighting, to colour the Matter the better; and after a while Romanus, as being beaten, was The Armies on both to run away. fides faw them together, but no body knew what they faid. Immediately this Mock-Combat began, and Caled laid on fo furiously, that Romanus was in danger of his Life, and ask'd Caled, whether that was his way of fighting in jest, and if he design'd to kill him? Caled smiled, and told him, No, but that it was necessary for them to show something of a Fight, to prevent their being suspected. Romanus made his Escape, and indeed it was high time, for the Saracen had handled him fo roughly, that whofoever had feen him after the Combat, would have had little Reason to have thought he had fought

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in jest, for he was bruis'd and wounded in feveral Places. As foon as he came back, the Citizens asked him, what News? He told them what a brave Soldier Caled was, and extoll'd the Valour and Hardiness of the Saracens, and desired them to be ruled and advised in time, before it was too late; concluding that it would be altogether in vain to make any Opposition. But this enraged the Besieged, and they ask'd him, if he could not be content with being a Coward himself, but he must needs make them fo too? They would certainly have killed him, if it had not been for fear of the Emperor. However they confined him to his House, and charged him at his Peril not to meddle nor interpose in their Affairs, and told him, that if he would not fight they would. Romanus upon this went home, divested of all Power and Authority, but he still comforted himself with the Hopes of being fecured and exempted from the common Calamity, if the Saracens should take the Town, as he expected they would. The Besieged having deprived him, substituted in his Room the General of those Forces, which the Emperor had fent to their Affistance, and

and defired him to challenge Caled, which he did; and when Caled was preparing himself to go, Abdo'rrahman, the Caliph's Son, a very young Man, but of extraordinary Hopes, begged of him to let him answer the Challenge. Having obtained Leave, he mounted his Horse, and took his Lance, which he handled with admirable Dexterity, and when he came near the Governour. he said, Come, thou Christian Dog, come on. Then the Combat began, and after a while the Governour finding himfelf worsted, having a better Horse than the Saracen, ran away, and made his Escape to the Army. Abdo'rrahmân, heartily vexed that his Enemy had efcaped, fell upon the reft, fometimes charging upon the Right Hand, sometimes upon the Left, making way where he went. Caledand the rest of the Officers followed him, and the Battle grew hot between the Saracens and the miferable Inhabitants of Bostra, who were at their last Struggle for their Fortunes, their Liberty, their Religion, and whatfoever was dear to them, and had now feen the last Day dawn, in which they were ever to call any thing their own, without renouncing their Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Baptism. The Saracens fought like Lions, and Caled their General still cry'd out, Albamlah, Albamlah, Aljannah, Aljannah; that is, Fight, Fight, Paradife, Paradife. The Town was all in an Uproar, the Bells rung, and the Priests and Monks ran about the Streets making Exclamations, and calling upon God, but all too late; for his afflicting Providence had determin'd to deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. Caled and Serjabil (for the Saracens could pray as well as fight, and England as well as Arabia has had some that could do fo too) faid, O God! the fe vile Wretches pray with idolatrons Expressions, and take to themselves another God besides thee; but we acknowledge thy Unity, and affirm, that there is no other God but thee alone; help us, we befeech thee, for the sake of thy Prophet Mahomet, against these Idolaters. The Battel continued for some time; at last the poor Christians were forced to give way, and leave the Field to the victorious Saracens, who loft only 230 Men. The Besieged retired as fast as they could, and shut up the Gates, and set up their Banners and Standards, with the Sign of the Cross upon the Walls, intending to

to write speedily to the Grecian Em- Abubeker.

peror for more Affistance.

And now we must leave the poor Inhabitants of Bostra in their melancholy Circumstances, and come to the deposed Governour Romanus, who was extreamly well fatisfy'd with the Success of the Saracens, and was now going to act a Master-piece of Villainy. The Saraceus kept Watch in their Camp all Night; and as they went their Rounds, they faw a Man come out from the City, with a Camlet Coat on, wrought with Gold. Abdo'rrabman, who happen'd to be that Night upon the Watch, was the first that met him, and fet his Lance to his Breaft. Hold, said he, I am Romanus, the Governour of Bostra; bring me before Caled the General Upon this Abdo'rrahman went with him to the General's Tent. As foon as Caled faw him he knew him, and asked him, how he did? Sir, said he, my People have been disobedient, and mutiny'd, and deposed me, and confined me to my House, and threatned me with Death if I intermeddled with any of their Affairs. Wherefore, that I may chastife them according to their Deferts, I have order'd my Sons and

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

mighty.

and Servants to dig a Hole in the Wall (for his House stood upon the Wall of the Town) and if you please to send such Persons as you can trust, I will take care to deliver the Town into your Hands. Upon this Caled immediately dispatch'd Abdo'rrahman with an Hundred Men, and ordered him, fo foon as he had taken Possession, to fall upon the Christians, and open the Gates. Romanus conducted them to the Wall, and took them into his House; and after he had given them a Treat, he brought every one of them a Suit of fuch Cloaths as the Christian Soldiers us'd to wear, and difguised them. Then Abdorrabmân divided them into four Parts, five and twenty in a Company, and ordered them to go into different Streets of the City, and commanded them, that as foon as they heard him, and those \* God is most that were with him, cry out, \* Allah Achar, they should do so too. Then Abdo'rrahman asked Romanus, where the Governour was which fought with him, and ran away from him? Romanus proffered his Service to shew him, and away they marched together to the Castle; attended with five and twenty When they came there, Muslemans. the

the Governour asked Romanus, what Abubeker. Alwakidi. he came for? Who answer'd, that he had no Business of his own, but only came to wait upon a Friend of his, that had a great Desire to see him. Friend of mine! fays the Governour; What Friend? Only your Friend Abdo'rrahman, said Romanus, is come to send you to Hell. The unhappy Governour finding himself betray'd, endeavoured to make his Escape. Nay hold, says Abdo'rrahmân, tho' you ran away from me once in the Day-time, you must not serve me so again; and struck him with his Sword and killed him. As he fell, Abdo'rrahman cry'd out, Allah Acbar. The Saracens which were below hearing it, did fo too; fo did those which were dispersed about the Streets, that there was nothing but Allah Acbar heard round about the City. Then those Saracens which were difguis'd kill'd the Guards, open'd the Gates, and let in Caled with his whole Army. The Town being now entirely loft, the conquering Saracens fell upon the Inhabitants, and killed and made Prisoners all they met with; till at last the chief Men of the City came out of their Houses, and Churches, and cry'd, Daurter,

Abubeker. Alwákidi. Quarter, Quarter. The General, Caled, immediately commanded them to kill no more; for, said he, the Apostle of God us'd to say, If any one be killed after he has cried out, Quarter, 'tis

none of my Fault.

Thus was the Condition of Bostra altered on a fudden, and they which had been before a wealthy and flourishing People, were now brought under the Saracenical Yoak, and could enjoy their Christian Profession upon no other Terms than paying Tribute. Some of the Inhabitants asked Caled the next Morning, who it was that betray'd the City to him. To which he making no Answer, as being unwilling to expose the Person that had done him such fignal Service; Romanus, the Traytor, with most unparallell'd Impudence, started up himself, and said, O you Enemies of God, and Enemies of his Apostle, I did it, desiring to please God. whom they answered, Are not you one of us? No, faid he, I have nothing to do with you, either inthis World or that which is to come. And I deny him that was crucified, and who seever wor ships bim. And I chuse God for my Lord, Mahometanism for my Religion, the Temple of Mec-

Meccah for the \* Place of my Worship, Abubeker. Alwakidi. the Mullemans for my Brethren, and Mahomet for my Prophet and Apostle. And Arab. Keb-I witness that there is but one God, and lah, which that he has no Partner, and that Maho-signifies the met is his Servant and Apostle, whom he which they turn Sent with Direction into the right Way themselves and the true Religion, that he might ex-when they say alt it above every Religion, in spite of For as the those who join Partners with God. After fews, the in Captivity, used he had given fuch an ample Testimony, to turn their and made so full a Confession of his Faces towards Faith, Caled appointed fome Men to the Temple of take Care of his Effects, for he durst when they not venture himselfany longer in Bostra, pray'd; so do after having been guilty of fuch unex-tans towards ampled Villany. the Temple at Meccah. And there are Books

in Arabick (one of which I have seen in the Bodleian Library) teaching how to find out the Zenith or Vertical Points of the Keblah, or Temple of Meccah; Mathematically: That let a Musleman be where he will he may know which way to set his Face when he says his Prayers.

Then Caled wrote to Abu Obeidah, to acquaint him with his Success, and withal to command him, to bring those Forces which he had with him, that they might all march together to the Siege of Damascus. Then he put a Garrison of four hundred Horse into Bostra, and sent Abubeker the News of E. 4

his Victory, and his Intention to befiege Damascus. There were at that time 7000 Saracens with Amrou Ebnol Aas in Palestine; and with Abu Obeidah 37000. Which had been raised at several times out of Hejaz, Temen, Hadramut, the Sea-Coalts of Amman, and the Territories of Meccah and Thayef. Caled had with him only 1500 Horse, which he brought with him out of Irâk. Heraclius, the Grecian Emperor, was now at Antioch, and being informed what Havock the Saracens had made in his Dominions, thought it time to look about him. He could not endure to think of losing Damascus, but sends a General, which our Arabick Author (not exact at all in the Names of the Christians) calls Calous, and with him 5000 Men, to defend it. Calous came first to Hems, formerly called Emessa, being the chief City of the adjacent Territory which is called by the same Name. It lies between Aleppo and Damascus, distant five days Journey from each of them; a Place of a most healthful and pleasant Air, compassed about with beautiful Gardens and fruitful Orchards, which are plentifully watered

ed by a Rivulet drawn from the Ri- Abubeker. ver Orontes, called by the Arabian, Geographers, Alasi, which passes by the City at a Distance of about half a Mile. When he came there, he found the Place very well provided both with Soldiers, Arms, and Ammunition. For the Conquests of the Saracens had struck such a Terror into all the Country, that every Place had fortify'd it felf as well as possible. He stay'd a Day and a Night at Hems, and passed from thence to Baalbec. He no fooner came near that Place. but there came out to meet him a mixed Multitude of Men and Wowith their Hair about their men. weeping and wringing their Ears, Hands, and making most pitiful Lamentation. Calous asked them what was the Matter. Matter? faid they, Why, the Arabs have over-run all the Country, and taken Aracab, and Sachnah, and Tadmor, and Hawran, and Bostra, and are now set down before Damascus. He asked them, what was their General's Name, and how many Men he had? They told him that his Name was Caled, and that he had but fifteen hundred Horse. Ca-Lous

ber of Men, and bad the People be of good Chear, and fwore, that when he came back again he would bring Caled's Head along with him upon the

Point of his Spear.

As foon as he came to Damascus, he produced the Emperor's Letter, and told the People, that he expected to have the whole Command of the Town himself; and would have had Izrail, the former Governour, fent out of Town: But the Damascens did by no means approve of that, for they lik'd their old Governour very well, and would not hear of parting with him in fuch a time of Extremity, when they had as great Occasion for Men of Courage, as ever they had fince they were a People. Upon this they were divided into Factions and Parties, and continu'd wrangling and quarrelling one with another, at that very time when there was the greatest need of Unity and a right Understanding; for now the Saracens were expected every Moment. It was not long before they came; the Christians went forth to meet them, and both Armies were drawn up in order to Battel.

When

Abubeker.

When both were ready to fight, Caled called out to Derar Ebn'ol Azwar, and faid, Now Derar quit thy felf like a Man, and follow the Steps of thy Father, and others of thy Countrymen, who have fought for the Cause of God. Help forward Religion, and God will help thee. Derar was mounted upon a fine Mare, and Caled had no fooner spoken, but he immediately charged the Horse, and killed four Troopers, and then wheeled off, and fell upon the Foot, and kill'd fix of them, and never left charging them till he had broken their Ranks, and put them into Disorder. At last they threw Stones at him, and pressed upon him so hard, that he was forced to retire among his own Men, where he received due Then Caled call'd out to Thanks. Abdo'rrahman, the Caliph's Son, whom we have mention'd before, who did the like. Caled himself insulted the Christians, and gave them reproachful Language, and challeng'd any of them to fight with him. Izrail upon this called to Calous, and told him, that it would be very proper for him, who was the Protector of his Country, and whom the Emperor had fent

on purpose to fight, to answer the Challenge: However Calous would rather have staid behind, if he had not been in a manner compell'd to go by the Importunity of the People. At last, with much ado, he arms himself, and goes forwards; and because he had a mind to discourse with his Adverfary, he takes an Interpreter along As they went on togewith him. ther. Calous began to shake in his Harness for Fear of the Saracen, and would fain have perswaded the Interpreter with large Promifes, to have taken his Part, if the Saracen should fall upon him. The Interpreter begg'd his Pardon, and told him, that as far as Words would go, he was at his Service, but he did not care for Blows: and therefore, fays he, look to your felf, Sir; for my part I will not be concern'd: For if I should meddle, and be knock'd on the Head for my pains, I pray what Good would all your fair Promises do me? When they came to Caled, the Interpreter began after this manner; Sir, faid he, I'll tell you a Story: There was a Man had a Flock of Sheep, and he put them to a negligent Shepherd, and the wild Beasts devoured them. Which when

when the Owner perceived, he turn'd a- Abubeker, way the Shepherd, and got another, that Alwakidi. was a Man of Application and Courage; then when the wild Beast came again, the Shepherdkill'dhim. Have a care that this does not prove to be your Cafe: You Arabians were apoor, contemptible, vile People, and went about with hungry Bellies, naked and barefoot, and liv'dupon Barlybread, and what you could squeeze out of Dates. Now fince you are come into our Country, and have fared better, you begin to rebel. But now the Emperor has taken Care to send a Man that is a Soldier indeed, and therefore it concerns you to look to your selves. And he has brought me along with him to talk with you, out of Compassion towards you. Prithee, fays Caled, don't tell me thy Stories; as for what thou fay'st of our Country, 'tis true enough. But you shall find that times are well a. mended with us, and that instead of our Barley-Bread and cour se Fare, you twit us withall, we shall be Masters of all your Wealth and good Things; nay, your Persons, and Wives, and Children too. And as for this same great Manthou speakest of; what dost tell me of a great Man for, who bave taken Tadmor, Hawran and Bostra? Let him be as great as he will; if be

be be the Support of your Kingdom, so am I of our Religion. Calous did not like the Mien and Behaviour of his Adverfary at all, and bad the Interpreterask him to defer the Combat till the next Day; intending, if he had once made his Escape, never to have come so near him any more. But the Saracen did not defign to part with him fo, but faid that he would not be fool'd. and immediately got between him and the Christian Army, to prevent his running away, and began to lay about him with his Spear most vehemently. They both fought bravely for a while; in the mean time the Interpreter perceiving them engaged, mov'd off, and escaped to the Christian Camp. At last Calous grew weary, and began to fland altogether upon the defensive part. The Saracen perceiving that he stood upon his Guard, left off pushing him, and came up close to him, and dextroufly shifting his Spear from his Right Hand to his Left, laid hold on him, and drew him to him, and flung him from his Saddle to the Ground. The Saracens immediately shouted out, Allah Acbar, which made the whole Camp echo, and the poor Christians trem-

tremble. Caled took Care of his Prifoner, and changed his Horfe, and took a fresh one, which the Governour of Tadmor had prefented him with, and went into the Field again. Derar defired him to stay behind, for, fayshe, you have tired your self with fighting with this Dog, therefore rest your felf a little, and let me go. To which Caled answered, O Derar, we shall rest in the World to come; he that labours to Day, shall rest to Morrow, and rode forwards. He was but just gone, when Romanus, the treacherous Governour of Bostra, called him back, and told him that Calous would speak with him; who even in those calamitous Circumstances, had not laid aside his Resentment. When he came back, Calous gave him fome Account of the Difference which had been between him and Izrail the Governour of Damascus, and told him, that if he should overcome him, it would be of great Moment, in order to the taking the City; he advis'd him therefore to challenge him, and get him out to fingle Combat, and kill him if he could. Caledtold him, that he might be fure he would not spare any Infidel or Idolater.

Calous

Calous being now a Prisoner, his five thousand Men, which he had brought to the Relief of Damascus, were very urgent with Israil to go out, and anfwer Caled's Challenge; which he declined at first: But afterwards, when they threaten'd him with Death, if he persisted in his Refusal, he told them, that the Reason why he refused at first, was not because he was afraid, but because he had a Mind to let their Master Calous try his Valour first. Then he armed himself and mounted upon a good Horse, rode up to the Saracen; who, amongst other Discourse, asked him his Name? He answered, My Name is Izraîl, (which is the Name of that Angel, whom the Mahometans suppose to take care of the Souls of Persons deceased.) Caled laugh'd, and said, Well, your Names-Sake Izrail is just ready at your Service, to convey your Soul to Hell. Izrail asked him what he had done with his Prisoner Calous! He told him. that he had him bound. Why aid you not kill bim? faid Izrail. Because, faid the Saracen, I intend to kill you both together. Then the Combat began, and was managed on both Sides with great Dexterity and Vigor. Izrail behaved himfelf.

Abubeker.

himself so well, that Caled admired him. At last the Victory inclined to Caled; and Izrail finding himself over-match'd, and having the better Horse of the two, turn'd his Back, and rode away. Caled pursued him as fast as he could, but could not overtake him. When Izrail perceived that his Adversary did not come up, imagining that this Slackness of his proceeded from an unwillingness to fight, he resum'd his Courage, and faced about, in hopes to have taken him Prisoner; which Caled perceiving, alighted from his Horse, and chose rather to fight on Foot; and as Izrail rushed upon him, he struck at the Legs of his Horse, and brought him down to the Ground, and took him Prisoner. Having now in his Poffession both the General and the Governour, he asked them, if they were willing to renounce their Christianity, and turn Mahometans? Which they both constantly refusing, were incontinently beheaded. Caled having ordered the Heads to be brought to him, took them, and threw them over the Walls into the Town.

There were several Battles fought before Damascus in which the Christi-

ans for the most part were beaten. At last, when they faw that by fallying out they had many Men killed and taken Prisoners, they determined to fave the Remainder for the Defence of the Walls, and expose themselves no more to the Hazard of a Field-Fight. Thus they that up themselves within the Town, and Caled pitched his Tents over against the East Gate, and Abu Obeidab fet down before the Gate which they call Aljábiyah. The City being thus straightly besieged, and the Inhabitants not daring to depend altogether upon those Forces which they had at present, they resolved to dispatch a Messenger speedily to the Grecian Emperor Heraclius, than at Antioch: So they wrote a Letter to him, in which they acquainted him with what had pass'd, and the Death of Calous and Izrail, and what Conquests the Saracens had made on that Side of the Country. When they had c'osed the Letter, they delivered it into the Hands of a fit Person, and let him down on the Outfide of the Wall in the Night. The Messenger managed his Business so well, that he escaped the Saracens, who were a People not very negligent in their Watch.

Watch. When he came to Antioch, and delivered his Letter, the Emperor was extreamly concerned, and fent Werdan with an hundred thousand Men,

to relieve Damascus.

Our Author tells us, that Werdanrefused to accept of this Commission at first, as thinking himself slighted, because the Emperor had not employed him at the Beginning of the War. But I never give much Credit to Authors that speak of things done in foreign Courts, and out of their knowledge. however worthy of Credit they may be, when they write of things done by their own Countrymen, and give an Account of fuch Transactions, as they may reasonably be supposed to have fufficient Opportunities of informing themselves about. For this Reason I would as little heed an Arabick Author, writing about the Affairs of the Christians, as I would a Greek or Latin one, giving an Account of the Arabians; because, in this Case, both must needs take a great deal upon Trust, by hearfay, and uncertain Reports, and confequently be imposed on themselves, and deceive their Readers. Wherefore I have rather chosen to take this History F 2 out

Abubeker. Alwákidi. Abubeker: Alwakidi. out of their own Authors, than depend upon the Christian Writers, who were very little acquainted with the Affairs of the Saracens.

Werdan, however, undertook the Command of that Army; and after the Emperor and some of the Nobility had gone part of the Way with him, and taken their Leave, he marched with all possible Speed towards Damascus; the Emperor having given him particular Charge, to take Care to cut off all Supplies from the Saracen Army, which was with Caled and Abu Obeida.

Within a short time after, the Saracens heard that the Emperor's Army was upon their March, near Ajnadin. Caled immediately goes to Abu Obeidah, to advise with him what was proper to be done in this Case. Caled was for having the Siege raifed, and the Saracens go in a full Body against the Grecian Army; and then, if they got the Victory, return to the Siege again: But Abu Obeidab told him, that he was by no means of that Cpinion, because the Inhabitants of Damascus were already in a very great Streight, and their going away would only give them an Opportunity of getting fresh Supplies, both. both of Arms and Provision, into the Town, and enable them to prolong the Siege: With which Answer the Gene-

ral was very well fatisfied.

Werdan's Army was very flow upon their March, and the poor besieged Christians were now in great Distress. Finding no Affistance from the Emperor, they proposed Terms to the General, and would have given him a thoufand Ounces of Gold, and 200 Suits of Silk, upon Condition that he would raise the Siege. To which he answered, that he would not raise the Siege. unless they would either become Tributaries or Mahometans: If neither of these Conditions pleased them, they must be content to fight it out. About fix Weeks after this, the Saracens heard an unufual Noise in the City, great Exclamations and Expressions of Joy. They could not imagine what should be the meaning of it, but in a very short time they were satisfied, for their Scouts brought them Word, that the Emperor's Army was at hand. Caled again would very willingly have gone to meet them; but Abu Obeidah would by no Means confent that the Siege should be raised. At last they agreed F 3

to choose some very good Soldier, and fend him with part of their Forces, to give the Emperor's Army Diversion, that they might not come and disturb the Siege. The Man that Caled pitch'd upon to have the Management of this Expedition, was Derar Ebn'ol Ezwar, an excellent Soldier, and most mortal Enemy of the Christians, (as indeed all of them were, Abu Obeidab only excepted) who accepted of this Post very chearfully, and cared not how many or how few Men he had with him, provided he might be employed in some glorious Action against the Christians. But Caled told him, that tho' they were obliged to fight for their Religion, yet God had commanded no Man to throw himself away, and therefore bad him be content to accept of fuch Affishance as he should think fit to fend along with him; and ordered him, in case of great Danger, to retire to the Army. Derar immediately prepared to go; and as they were upon their March, the Emperor's vast Army drew When the Saracens faw fuch a near. Multitude, they were afraid, and would willingly have retired; but Derar swore, That he would not fir a Step back without.

out fighting. And Raphi Ebn Omeirah Abubeker, told them, That it was a common thing for the Muslemans to rout a great Army with an Handful of Men. The Armies drew near, and notwithstanding the vast Disproportion of their Numbers, Derar advanc'd, without shewing the least Token of Fear or Concern; and when he came up, he always fought most where Werdan the General was. And first of all he kill'd his Right-hand Man, and then the Standard-bearer. The Standard had in it the Sign of the Cross, and was richly adorned with precious Stones. As foon as Derar faw it fall, he commanded his Saracens to alight, and take it up, whilst he defended them. Immediately they obey'd, and he in the mean time laid about him so furiously, that none durst come within his reach to fave the Standard. Werdan, the Emperor's General, had a Son that was his Father's Lieutenant in Hems, who march'd with ten thousand Men when he heard that his Father was going against the Muslemans: and had the Fortune to join him whilst the Armies were engag'd. He observing Derar's Activity, and what Execution he did a-F 4 mongst

mongst the Greeks, watched his Opportunity, and wounded him in the left Arm with a Javelin. Derar turned himself about, and struck him with his Lance fo violently, that when he drew it back again, he left the Point of it sticking in the Bones. Notwithstanding which he made as vigorous a Defence as could be expected from a Man disarmed; but the Greeks pressed hard upon him, and with much ado took him Prisoner. When the Saracens faw their Captain taken Prifoner, they fought as long as they could, in hopes of recovering him, but all in vain: Which discourag'd them so much, that they had like to have run away. Which Raphi Ebn Omeirah perceiving, called out to them with a loud Voice, and faid, What! don't you know, that who soever turns his Back upon his Enemies, offends God and his Prophet? And that the Prophet said, that the Gates of Paradise should be open to none but such as fought for Religion? Come on! I'll go before you. If your Captain be dead or taken Prisoner, yet your God is alive, and sees what you do. With these Words he restored the Battle. In the mean time News came to Caled, that Derar was

was taken. Upon which he imme- Abubeker. diately applies himself to Abu Obeidah, to know what was best to be done. Abu Obeidah sent him word, that he should leave some body in his Place, and go himself to rescue Derar. Upon this he leaves Meisarah Ebn Mesrouk in his Place, with a thousand Horse, and taking a considerable Force along with him, went with all possible speed to relieve the Saracens. When those that were engag'd faw the Recruit come up, they fell on like Lions; and Caled charged in the thickest part of them, where there were most Banners and Standards, in hopes of finding Derar Prisoner there, but all in vain. At last there revolted a Party of them that came with Werdan's Son from Hems, and begg'd of Caled Protection and Security for themselves and their Families. Caled told them, That he would consider that when he came to Hems, and not in this Place. Then he asked them. if they knew what was become of Derar? They told him, that affoon as he was taken Prisoner, Werdan, the General, had fent him with a Guard of an Hundred Horse Prisoner to Hems, in order to make a Present of him to He-

Abubeker. Heraclius the Emperor. Caled was glad to hear it, and immediately difpatch'd Raphi Ebn Omeirah with an hundred Horse, to retake Derar. They made all possible haste, and took the direct Road to Hems; at last they overtook them, and killed and routed them, and recovered their Friend Derar, and haften'd back to join Caled, who by this time had entirely defeated the Grecian Army. They purfu'd them as far as Wadi'l Hayat, and brought off what Plunder, and Horses, and Arms they could, and returned to the Siege of Damascus, which had now but little Hopes of holding out long.

The Emperor Heraclius not willing to part with Syria thus, fent to Werdan again, and gave him the Command of 70000 Men at Ajnadin; and commanded him to go and give the Saracens Battle, and raise, if possible, the Siege of Damascus. When the News of this Preparation came to

\* Arab. Ko- Caled's Ears, he went to Abu Obeidab. barâo Ashhab to consult what was proper to be Resoul Allah, done; who told him, that he knew Men of the that most of their \* great Men were Companions of absent; and that it would be his God. best way to send for them as soon as Abubeker. he could, that having join'd their Forces, they might in a sull Body give the Emperor's Army Battle. Tezid Ebn Abi Sophyan was then in Balka, a Territory upon the Consines of Syria; Serjabil Ebn Hasanahin Palestine; Mead in Harran; Nomân Ebno'l Mundir at Tadmor; and Amrou Ebno'l Aas in Irâk. Upon this Caled wrote the sollowing Letter.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Caled Ebno'l Waled to Amrou Ebno'l Aas, Health and Happiness. Know that thy Brethren the Muslemans design to march to Ajnadîn, where there is an Army consisting of 70000 Greeks, who propose to come against us, \* that \* These Words they may extinguish the Light of God are a Text of with their Mouths; but God preserveth the Alcoran. See Alcoran, his Light in spite of the Insidels. As Chap. IX. 32. soon therefore as this Letter of mine & LXI. 8. shall come to thy Hands, come with those that are with these to Ajnadîn, where thou shalt find us, if it pleases the Most High God.

The like he fent to the rest of the Generals, and immediately gave Orders for the whole Army to march with Bag and Baggage. Caled himself went in the Front, and Abu Obeidah brought up the Rear. The Dama scens perceiving the Siege raifed, and their Enemies upon their March, took Courage, and ventured out upon them with an Army of fix thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot; the Horse under the Command of Paul; the Foot of Peter. As foon as Paul came up, he fell upon Abu Obeidah, and kept him employ'd, whilst Peter went to feize the Spoil; for all their Baggage, and Wealth, and Women, and Children were in the Rear. Peter brought off a good part of it, and some of the Women; and taking a Guard both of Horse and Foot, returned towards Damascus, leaving his Brother Paul with the rest of the Army to engage the Muslemans. Paul behaved himfelf so well, that he beat Abu Obeidah, and those that were in the Rear, who now wish'd at his Heart that he had taken Caled's Advice, when he would have perswaded him at first to have marched in the Front, and would have brought

brought up the Rear himself. The Abubeker. Women and Children made grievous, Lamentation, and all Things went ill on that side. Upon this Said Ebn Sababb, being well mounted, rode as hard as he could to the Front of the Army, where Caled was, and gave him an Account how Matters went: and defired him with all possible speed to succour Abu Obeidah. Well, said Caled, God's will be done; I would have been in the Rear at first, but he would not let me; and now you fee what is come on't. Immediately he dispatches Raphi with 2000 Horse, to relieve the Saracens in the Rear, and after him Kais Ebn Hobeirah with 2000 more; then Abdo'rrahman with 2000 more: then Derar Ebno'l Azwar with 2000 more; the rest of the Army he brought up himself. When Raphi, Derar, and Abdo'rrabman came up, the State of the Matter was quite altered; and the Christians which had the better of it before, were beaten down on every fide, and their Standards and Colours turn'd upside down. Derar pursu'd Paul the General, who durst not encounter him; for he had feen how he behav'd himself at the Siege of Damascus,

Abubeker. Alwakidi. thân, which is the Hebrew Word Satan.

and heard how he had fought against Werdan. Derar turn'd himself about, and said \* Arab, Shai- to Abu Obeidah, Did not I tell you that the same with this \* Devil would not stand me? and follow'd up closely. Paul being purfu'd hard, flung himself off from his Horse, and endeavoured to get away on Foot. Derar alighted too, and had just overtaken him, and was a going to chine him; but he cry'd out, Hold! for in faving me, you fave your Wives and Children which we have taken. Derar upon this forbore, and took him Prifoner. The Christians were all routed; fo that of those fix thousand Horse which came out of Damascus, there escaped only one hundred; as they were afterwards informed when the City was taken.

Among those other Captives which Peter had taken, it fortuned that Caulah, Derar's Sister, a brave Virago, and a very beautiful Woman, was one. Derar was extreamly concern'd for the Loss of his Sifter, and made his Complaint to Caled: Who bad him be of good cheer; for, fays he, we have taken their General, and some other Prisoners, which we shall exchange for our own; and there is no Question but we shall find

them

them all at Damascus. However, Abubeker. they resolv'd to go and see if they could Alwakidi. recover them before they got thither. Caled, Raphi, Meisarah, and Derar, went in fearch of the Captives; and ordered Abu Obeidah to march on flowly with the Army. There were among the Women which were taken Prisoners, some of the Hamyarites (a Tribe fo called amongst the Arabs) which the Arabians suppose to be descended from the ancient Amalekites. These Women are used to ride on Horseback, and fight as the Amazons did of old. Peter, when he had got his Prisoners and Plunder at some convenient Distance, did not make haste to convey them to Damascus, but stay'd by the way, being desirous, if possible, to hear of his Brother Paul's Success before he went home. Whilst they rested, they took an Account of the Women, and what elfe they had gotten; and Peter chose Caulah, Derar's Sifter, for himself, and told his Men, that she, and no other should be his, and no body's else. The rest chose each of them one as long as they lasted. The Greeks went into their Tents to refresh themselves, and in the mean time

time the Women got all together, and Caulah faid to them : What! will you fuffer your selves to be abused by the se Barbarians, and become Hand-maids and Slaves to thefe Idolaters? Where's your Courage? For my part, Pll sooner die than any of these Idolatrous Slaves shall touch me. Opheirah, who was one of them, told her, that their Patience was not the Effect of Cowardice, but Necessity. For, fays she, we are defenceles; we have neither Sword nor Spear, nor Bow, nor any thing elfe. But cannot we, fays Caulah, take each of us a Tent-pole, and fland upon our Guard? Who knows but that it may please God to give us the Victory, or deliver us by some means or other? If not, we shall die, and be at reft, and preserve the Honour of our Country. Opheirah fwore she was much in the right of it. They instantly resolv'd upon it, and provided themselves with Staves, and Caulah commanded in chief. Come, fays the, fland round in a Circle, and be sure you leave no Space between you for any of them to come in and do us a Mischief. Strike their Spears with your Staves, and break their Swords and their Skulls. As she spoke, she stepped forwards one Step, and struck

a Fellow that stood within her Reach, Abubeker. and shatter'd his Skull. Immediately there was a great Uproar, and the Greeks came running out of their Tents to fee what was the Matter. When they came out, there stood the Women all up in Arms. Peter called out to Caulab, whom he had chosen for his Mistress, What's the Meaning of this, my Dear? Woe be to thee, faid she, and to all of you, thou \* Christian Dog. The \* Arab, Y kelbo'nnasta-Meaning of it is, that we design to pre-niyah. serve our Honour, and to beat your Brains out with these Staves: Come, why don't you come to your Sweet-heart now, for which you reserved your self? It may be you may receive something at her Hands, which may prove worth your while. Peter only laugh'd at her, and ordered his Men to compass them round, and not do them any Harm, but only take them Prisoners, and gave them an especial Charge to be careful of his Miftress. They endeavoured to obey his Commands, but with very ill Success; for when any Horseman came near the Wo. men, they let drive at the Horses Legs, and if they brought him down, his Rider was fure to rife no more. When Peter perceived that they were in earneft.

nest, he grew very angry, and alighted from his Horse, and bad his Men do so too, and fall upon them with their Cy-The Women stood close togemitars. ther, and faid one to another, Come, let us die honourably, rather than live scandalously. Peter look'd with a great deal of Concern upon his Mistress, and when he view'd her Beauty and comely Proportion and Stature, loath to part with her, he came near, and gave her good Words, and would fain have per-Iwaded her to defift from her Enterprize. He told her, that he was rich and honourable, that he had a great many fine Seats, and the like, which should all be at her Service; and defired her to take Pity of her felf, and not be ac-To which cessary to her own Death. the answered, Thou Infidel, Scoundrel, vileRascal, why dost not come a little nearer, that I may beat thy Brains out? This nettled him to purpose; so he drew his Sword, and had his Men fall upon them; and told them, that it would be a very scandalous thing to them in all the Neighbourhood of Syria and Arabia, if they should be beaten by the Women. The Women were just now at their last Prayers, but they held up bravely;

bravely; and it happened fortunately, that whilst they were thus engaged, Caled and his Party came up. They wondered what was the Matter when they faw the Dust fly, and the Swords glitter. Caled fent Raphi to enquire into the Business; who rode in great hafte, and came back quickly, and gave him an Account how things stood. Caled faid, he did not at all wonder at it, for the Women of those Tribes were used to it. Assoon as Derar heard the News, he put forward his Horse in all haste to go and help the Women. Softly, Derar, Softly, faid Caled ; not fo fast: A Man that goes leisurely about his Business, Shall sooner gain his Point, than he that goes to work rashly. Derar answered, I ban't Patience, I must go and belp my Sister. Then Caled set his Men in order, and commanded them, affoon as they came up, to encompass their Enemies. Assoon a Caulab saw the Saracens appear, the cried out, Look yes my Girls, God has sent us Help now. When the Greeks faw the Saracens draw near, they were in a pitiful Condition, and began to look upon one another very forrowfully. Peter was now willing to contrive some way for his OWA

Abubeker. own Safety, and called out to the Women, Heark ye, said he, I pity your Condition, for we have Sifters and Mothers, and Wives of our own; therefore I let you go freely for Christ's Sake: Wherefore, when your People come up, let them know how civil I have been to you. Having faid thus, he turned towards the Saracens, and faw two Horsemen coming apace before the rest. One of them (Caled) was compleatly armed, the other (Derar) naked, with a Lance in his Hand, upon a Horse without a Saddle. As foon as Caulab faw she called out, her Brother, bither Brother, tho' God is sufficient without thy Help. Then Peter called out to her, and faid Get thee to thy Brother, I give thee to him, and turn'd away to get off as fast as he could. She called after him, and faid, This Fickleness of yours is not like the Manner of us Arabians; Sometimes you are wonderfully fond of me, and express a great deal of Love, and then again you are as cold and indifferent as may be. Away with thee, fays he, I am not so fond of thee now as I was before. Well, fays she, I am fond of you, and must have you by all Means. Then the ran up to him, and Caled and Derar

rar were just at hand. Assoon as Pe- Abubeker. ter saw Derar, he called out to him, and faid, There's your Sifter, take her, and much good may she do you; I make a Present of her to you. Derar answered, I thank you, Sir, I accept of your kind Present; but I have nothing to return you in lieu of it, but only the Point of this Spear, therefore be pleased to accept of it. At the same time, Caulab struck the Legs of his Horse, and brought him down. Derar took him as he fell, and struck him through and through, and cut off his Head, and put it upon his Lance. Then all the Saracens fell on. and fought till they had killed 30 oMen. The rest ran away, and the Saracens purfued them to the Gates of Damascus, and return'd enriched with Plunder, Horses and Armour. Caled now thought it high time to return to Abu Obeidab, fearing that Werdan should have fallen upon him. They marched forthwith, and as foon as the Army faw Caled and his Company, they shouted out an Allah Acbar, and Caled answered them again. When they came up to the Army, they gave them a particular Account of their whole Adventure, especially the Battle of the Women, with which G 3

Abubeker. which they made themselves very merry. Then Caled called for Paul, who was taken Prisoner before, and bad him turn Mahometan, or else he would serve him as he had done his Brother. What's that? faid Paul, Wby, fays Caled, I have killed him, and here is his Head. When he faw the Head he wept, and faid, that he did not defire to furvive him: Upon which Caled commanded him to be beheaded.

> The above-mentioned Saracen Captains, which Caled wrote to, to meet him at Ajnadin, prepared to come as foon as they had received the Letter:

Hegjrah 12th. A.D. 633.

And that which was most remarkable. was, that tho' they were at Places of a different Distance, yet they all happen'd to meet there the same Day, being Friday, the 13th of July, in the Year 633, which they all interpreted as a fingular Providence. The Armies came within Sight of one another, and the Saracens were fomething at a stand, when they faw the Emperor's Army, confisting of no less than 70:00. Those who had been in Persia, and feen the vast Armies of Cofrees, confessed that they had never feen any thing beyond this, either in respect of their

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their Number, or Military Preparation. They fat down in fight of one another that Night, and early the next Morning prepared for the Battel, Caled rode about amongst the Ranks of his Men, and told them, "That they " now faw the biggest Army of the " Greeks, that ever they were like to " fee; That if they came off Conque-" rors now, all was their own, and " nothing would be able to fland against " them for the time to come: Therefore, adds he, fight in good earnest, and take Religion's Part: And \* be fure that \* Alcoran, you do not turn your Backs, and so be v. 15, 16. damned for your Pains. Standclose together, and don't make any Affault, tillyou hear the Word of Command; and feethat you mind your business, and have your Wits and your Hearts about you. Nor was Werdan, on the other side, negligent in encouraging his Men to do their best. He called his Officers together, and faid, You know that the Emperor bas a great Concern upon bim for you, and if you should shrink now you come to face your Enemies, and lose the Field, 'twould be such a Blow, as could never more be recovered, and these Arabs will take Possession of all, and kill your Men, and

and make Slaves of your Wives and Children. All is now at Stake; therefore stand to it soutly, and don't flinch, but fight unanimously and courageously: Besides we bave three to their one for your Comfort, and call upon Christ, and he will belp you. Caled was very apprehensive of that great Army, and therefore was willing to go to work as warily as he could. He asked his Men, which of them would go and take a View of the Army, and bring him an Account of their Order and Number? Derar. who was never backward in any thing that belong'd to a Soldier, proffer'd his Service. Well then, fays Caled, thou shalt go, and God go along with thee; but: I charge thee, Derar, that thou do not assault them, nor strike a Stroke without my Order, and so be accessary to thy own Destruction. Away he goes, and views their Order, their Arms and Standards, and Banners display'd and Colours flying. Werdan cast his Eye upon him, and imagining him to be a Scout, fent a Party of 30 Horse to seize him, and bring him into the Army. When they advanc'd, Derar ran away, and they after him, till he had drawn them a good way from the Army, and then hę

he faced about, and fell upon them like a Lion. First he pushed one thorough with his Lance, and then another: and terrify'd them, and beat them grievously, till of thirty he had unhorfed seventeen. The rest fled before him, till they came pretty near the Grecian Camp, and then he turn'd off. and came back to Caled. Did not 1 warn you not to fight without Order? faid Caled. Nay, faid Derar, I did not begin first, but they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me turn my Back; and indeed I fought in good earnest, and without doubt God assisted me against them; and if it had not been for disobeying your Order, I should not have come away as I did; and I perceive already that they will fall into our Hands.

Then Caled fet his Army in good Order. Mead Ebn Jabal, and Nomân Ebno'lmokarren led the Right Wing; and Said Ebn Amer, and Serjabil Ebn Hasanah the Lest. Tezid Ebn Abi Sophyan with four thousand Horse guarded the Baggage, Women and Children. Caulah and Opheirah, and several other Women of the highest Rank and chief Families of the Arabian Tribes, with a great many more of inseriour Note,

pre-

prepared themselves for the Battel. Caled turn'd about to them, and faid, Noble Girls, affure your felves, that what you do is very acceptable to God and bis Apostle, and the Muslemans; you will hereby purchase a lasting Memory, and the Gates of Paradife will be opened to you. And assure your selves, that I repose a great deal of Confidence in you. If any Party of the Greeks fall upon you, fight for your selves; and if you see any of the Muslemans turn bis Back, slay bim, and ask him, whether he runs from his Fa mily and Children; for by this means you will encourage the Muslemans to fight. Opheirah told him, that they were all ready to fight till they died.

Then he rode about, and encouraged his Men, and bad them fight for the fake of their Wives and Children, and Religion, and stand close to it; for if they were beaten, they had no Place to escape to, nor any thing left to trust to. After this he went into the main Body of the Army, and stood there with Amrou Ebno'l Aas Abdo'r-rahman the Caliph's Son, Kais Ebn Hobeirah, Raphi Ebn Omeirah, and several other Saracens of Note. The two Armies cover'd all the Plains; The Chrimies cover'd all the Plains; The Chrim

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frians made a great Noise, and the Saracens repeated as fast as they could, La I'labailla Allah, Mohammed Refoul Allab: That is, There is but one God: Mahomet is the Apostle of God. Our Author tells us, that just before the Battle began, there came out a grave old Man from the Christian Army, and went towards the Saracens, and enquired for the General? Caled came forth to him, and the old Man asked him, if he was the General? They look upon me as fuch (faid Caled) so long as I continue in my Duty towards God, and the Observance of what he has left us by his Prophet Mahomet of bleffed Memory; otherwise I have no Command or Authority over them. The old Man told him, that they were come to invade a Land, which had been attempted oftentimes before, but with very ill Success. That, those who had undertook the Conquest of it, had found their Sepultures in that very Place where they designed to erect their Empire. That tho' they had lately obtain'd a Victory over the Christians, yet they must not expect that the Advantage would long continue on their fide; That the Emperor had lent

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fent a very numerous Army: That the General however had fent him to acquaint him, that if they would depart without any Acts of Hostility, he would prefent every Saracen in the Army with a Suit of Cloaths, a Turbant, and a Piece of Money, and the General himself with ten Suits, and an hundred Pieces. And to their Master Abubeker, the Caliph, an hundred Suits, and a thousand Pieces. No. faid the Saracen, no Peace, but either become Tributaries forthwith, or elfe Mahometans; otherwise the Sword must determine the Controver sy between us. And as for your great Army that you speak of; we are promis'd the Victory by our Prophet Mahomet, in the Book which was fent down to him. And then for your Proffer of giving us Vests, Turbants and Money; we shall in a short time be Masters of all your Cloaths, and all the good Things you have about you. Mead encouraged the Saracens with the Hopes of Paradife, and the Enjoyment of everlasting Life, if they fought for the Cause of God and Religion. Softly, faid Caled, let me get them all into good Order before you set them upon fighting. When he had done fetting them in Order, he faid.

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said, Look to it, for your Enemies are two to your one, and there is no breaking them, but by out-winding them. Hold out till the Evening, for that is the time in which the Prophet obtained the Victory. Have a care you don't turn your Backs, for God fees you. The Armies were now come very near, and the Armenian Archers shot at the Saracens. and killed and wounded a great many; but Caled would not let a Man stir. Derar, at last, impatient of Delay, faid, What do we stand still for? The Enemy will think we are afraid of him; prithee give us the Word of Command, and let us go. Caled gave him leave, and he began the Battle; and in a little time a great Part of both the Armies were engaged, and a great many fell on both fides, but more Christians than Saracens. Werdan perceiving the great Disadvantage his Men laboured under, was in great Perplexity, and advised with his Officers what was best to be done. For no Art of a General, nor any Terms he could propose, were sufficient to encourage the Christians, to fight so desperately as the Saracens, who cared not for their Lives, being all of them fully - Abubeker. Álwákidi.

fully perswaded, that whosoever was killed in fighting for the Propagation of their Religion, should certainly receive a Crown of Martyrdom. And it is most true, that nothing will make Men expose themselves unconcernedly to the greatest Dangers, like a Spirit of Enthusiasm. It was agreed, that the best thing they could do, would be to circumvent the General of the Saracens by fome Stratagem, which would extreamly discourage the rest, and falicitate the Victory. This was attempted after this manner: A Messenger was to be fent to Caled; to defire him to found a Retreat, and let the Battle cease for that Day, and meet Werdan the next Morning, at a certain Place within View of both the Armies, where they, the two Generals alone, might treat, in order to find out some Expedient for the preventing the Effufion of fo much Blood, as must of necessity be lost on both sides, if the War continu'd. There was to be an Ambuscade of ten Men conveniently placed, to feize the Saracen. The Message was delivered to one David, who was privy to the Secret. When he had received his Errand, he went and enqui-

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red for Caled, who rode to him, and with a stern Look presented his Lance. Sir, faid David, I amno Soldier, but have only a Message to deliver to you; therefore pray turn your Lance away whilft I am talking with you. Upon which Caled laid his Lance a-cross upon the Pummel of his Saddle, and said, Speak to the Purpose then, and tell no Lyes. So I will, fays David, if you will promise me Security for my felf and my Family. Which Caled had no sooner done, but he acquainted him thoroughly with the whole Business. Well, said Caled, go and tell him, it Shall be fo. Presently after Abu Obeidab met Caled, and observing an unusual Briskness and Gaiety in his Countenance, asked him, What was the Matter? Caled told him the Contrivance, and added, I durst venture to go alone, and engage to bring thee all their Heads along with me. Abu Obeidah told him, that he was a Person likely enough to do fuch a thing; but fince the Prophet had no where commanded them to expose themselves to unnecessary Danger, he would have him take ten Men to anfwer them. Derar thought it not the best way to defer it till the Morning, but

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but was for going that Evening to furprise that Ambuscade. Having obtained Leave, he went, after it was dark, towards the Place whither Werdan had fent his Ambuscade before. When he came near, he ordered his Men to stand still, whilst he went to observe their Posture. Then he put off his Cloaths (for he was as often used to go without as with) and took his Sword, and went creeping along, till he came fo near as to hear them fnoar, for they were all drunk, and afleep, and their Arms lay under their Heads. Having so fair an Opportunity, he had much ado to forbear killing them himself; but considering that one of them might possibly awaken the other, he came back, and brought his Companions along with him, who took each of them his Man. and dispatched the Ambuscade with all imaginable Silence and Secrecy. The next thing to be done, was to strip these Men, and put on their Cloaths, for fear any of the Greeks should chance to come by the Place, and seeing them in their Arabian Habit, make a Discovery. Derar told them, that it was a good Omen, and that

that he did not at all question, but Abubeker, that God would fulfil his Promise to Alwakidi them.

About break of Day, Caled faid the Morning Prayer in the Camp, and drew up his Army in order of Battle: Then he put on a yellow Silk Vest and a green Turbant. Assoon as the Christians saw the Saracens in order. Werdan fent an Horseman, who rode up to the Front of the Saracen Army, and cried out, Heark ye you Arabians; Is this fair Play? Have you forgot your Agreement you made with us Testerday? How! faid Caled; what! charge us with Breach of Promise? The General, answered the Messenger, expects you should be as good as your Word, and meet him in order to treat of a Peace. Go and tell him, fays Caled, that I am just a coming. Quickly after, Caled faw Werdan go out upon a Mule, very richly dressed and adorned with Golden Chains and precious Stones. Hah! fays he, this will be all ours by and by, if it please God. Then he went after him, and when he was almost at him, they both alighted. When Werdan had drawn him pretty near the Place where the Ambush lay; they fat down opposite to

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one another to discourse, but Werdan still kept his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, for fear the Saracen should chance to fall upon him on a fudden. Come, fays Caled, now let us hear what you have to fay; but be sure you deal fairly, and like a Man, and tell no Lyes; for it does not at all become Men in eminent Stations to deal deceitfully, and use Tricks. What I defire of you, faid Werdan, is, that you would let us know what you would have, and come to some reasonable Terms, that we may have Peace, and live at quiet on both Sides; and what soever you desire of us, we will give you freely, for we know that you are a poor sort of People, and live in a barren Country, and in great Scantine s and Scarcity; therefore if a small Matter will content you, we will give it you willingly. Alas! for thee, thou Christian Dog, faid Caled, webles Godthat he has provided agreat dealbetter for us than to live upon your Charity and what you please to spare; for he has given all that you have freely tous, nay evenyour Wives and your Children to be divided among st us, unless you can say, LA ILAHA, &c. There is but oneGod, Mahomet is the Apostle of God: Or if you do not like that, pay Tribute. If that

that will not do; then let the Sword de- Abubeker; termine between us, and God give the Alwakidi. Victory to which Side he pleases. There are no other Terms to be had of us. As for your talking of Peace to us, we for our parts take more delight in War; and for your saying that we are such a contemptible People, I would have you know that we reckon you no better than Dogs. You fee I don't talk like a Man that is much inclined to Peace; and if the Meaning of your calling me bither, was, that you might have mealone; here we are in a Place by our selves, far enough both from my Army and yours: Come and fight with me if you dare. Immediately upon this, Werdan rose up, but trusting to the Ambuscade, made no haste to draw his Sword. Caled seized him forthwith, and shook him, and turned him about every way. Then he cried out, Come out, come bither, this Arab has seized me. Assoon as they heard his Voice, they came forth, and Werdan, at first Sight, took them to be his own Men; but when they came nearer, and he faw Derar before them, with nothing on but a Pair of Breeches, and shaking his Sword at him, he began to be extreamly uneafy, and faid to Caled, I beg of you not to deliver me into the Hands H 2

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Abubeker. Hands of that \* Devil; I hate the Sight of him, it was he that killed my Son. shai- Caled swore by God, that when he came up, he would kill him too. By this time Derar was come up, and faid, Now thou curfed Wretch, what is become of thy Deceit, with which thou would'ft have en. fnared the Companions of the Apostle of God? And was just a going to kill him. Hold, faid Caled, let him alone till I give you the Word. When he faw himself in the midst of his Enemies, he fell upon the Ground, and began to cry Quarter: But Caled answered, Là Aman illà Beiman; No Quarter, (or Security) where there is no Faith kept. You pretended to Peace, and at the same time designed to murther me treacherously. The Word was no fooner out of his Mouth, but Derar struck his Head off. Then they stript him, and put his Head uron the Point of Caled's Lance, and marched towards the Army. As foon as the Christians espied them, they thought they had been their own Men, and that Werdan had brought the Saracen's Head along with him. The Saracens thought so too, and were under great Concern for Caled. Assoon as ever they came near, they charged the Chri-

Christians, and Abu Obeidah (who com- Abubeker. manded the Army in Caled's Absence) Alwakidi. knew them, and told his Men. Then they fell on, and engaged in all Parts with all the Vigor imaginable. The Fight, or rather the Slaughter, continued till Evening. The Christian Army was entirely routed and defeated. The Saracens killed that Day fifty thousand Men. Those that escaped fled some of them to Cafarea, others' to Damascus, and some to Antioch. The Saracens took Plunder of inestimable Value, and a great many Banners, and Crosses made of Gold and Silver. precious Stones, Silver and Gold Chains, rich Cloaths, and Arms without Number; which Caled faid he would not divide till Damascus was taken. Upon this Caled fends a Messenger with the following Letter, to Abubeker the Caliph.

## In the Name of the most merciful God.

" From the Servant of God, Caled " Ebn Waled, to the Successor of the " Apostle of God, upon whom be the " Bleffing of God. I praise God, who is the only God, and there is none H 3 " other

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" other besides him; and I pray fo " his Prophet Mahomet, upon whom be the Bleffing of God: And I praise " him, and give Thanks to him still " more, for his delivering the True " Believers, and destroying the Idolaters, and extinguishing the Light of " those that err. I acquaint thee, O " Emperor of the Faithful, that we met with the Grecian Army at Aj-" nadin, with Werdan the Prefect of " Hems; and they swore \* by Christ, Arab. Bidinihim, i.e. by " that they would not run away, nor " turn their Backs, the' they were kiltheir Religion. " led to the last Man: So we fell " upon them, calling upon God, and " trusting upon him, and God sup-" ported us, and gave us the Victory, " and our Enemies were decreed to be " overcome, and we killed them on " all Sides, to the Number of fifty thou-" fand Men; and we lost of the Musle-" mans in two Battles four hundred " and feventy four Men; and this " Letter is written on the fifth Day of " the Week, being the thirtieth of the " first 70mådab; and we are now re-" turning to Damascus, if it please God. F Pray for our Success and Prospese rity. Farewell. The Peace and

" Bleffing of God be upon thee and Abubeker " all the Muslemans.

med to exect tel vero ten As foon as the Messenger told the Caliph the News, he fell down and worshipped God. Then he opened the Letter, and read it over first to himself, and then to those that were about him. The News immediately flew through all the Country; and the hungry Arabians came thronging to Medinah, to beg Leave of the Caliph to go into Syria, all of them expecting great Places and large Possessions, and were very willing to exchange the uncultivated Defarts of Arabia Petraa, for the Delicacies of Damascus. Omar did by no means approve of their Motion, but faid to Abubeker, 44 You know what fort " of Fellows thefe were to us, when " time was : When they were able to " oppose us, and we were but few in "Number, they fendeavour'd to the " utmost of their Power, to ruin our Re-" ligion, and put out the Light of God, " and when they did turn, it was only " to fave themselves; and now they see "God has been pleased to bless our For-" ces with Success, they are willing to " there in the Spoil, and they'll go ee and

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" and made a Disturbance among those " who have got it with their Swords? "Therefore I pray let none of them " go; but let those that have won it, " wearit. Abubeker was of his Mind As foon as the Inhabitants of Meccah heard it, they were greatly concerned. and thought themselves very much affronted. Some of the Coreifhe (a noble Tribe among the Arabs, and which had violently opposed Mahomet at his first fetting out, and made him fly from Meccah to Medinah) came in a Body, to make their Complaint to Abubeker the Calipb, whom they found fitting with some Muslemans, and Ali on his Right-Hand, and Omar on his Left. When they had paid due Reverence to the Caliph, Abu Sophyan acco-

fore Mahomet.

\* so they call in the \* Times of Ignorance, there us'd to all the Time be- be Clashing and Difference among ft us; and we did what we could against you, and you the like to us. But now fince it has pleased God to direct us both into the true Religion, that ought to destroy all Hatred and Animosities between For the Faith destroys Hatred and Variance, as well as Idolatry. And yet you continue your Hatred fill,

sted Omar after this manner. 'Tistrue,

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notwithstanding we are your Brethren in Religion, and your near Relations besides. What is the Meaning of this Spight both formerly and now? Is it not time to purify your Hearts from Envy? That you did come into the Profession of the true Religion before us we confess, and are willing uponthat score, to pay you all the Respect which is due. Having faid thus, he held his Peace, and Arak commended him, and feconded him. Then Abu Sophyan defired the Calipb and all the Muslemans to bear witness, that he took upon himself freely to fight for the Cause of God: The like did all the Chief of Meccah which were present. This fatisfy'd the Caliph, and made him be content to let them go. Upon which he prayed to God to confirm them in their good Resolutions, and bless them with answerable Success. Then he wrote a Letter to Caled; in which he acquainted him, that he had received his with great Satisfaction; and that he had fent to him some of the Chief of Meccab, and the adjacent Country, particularly Amrou Ebn Maadi, and Malek Alashtar: And order'd him, after he had conquer'd Damascus, to go on to Hems, Mearrah and Antioch :

Abubeker. Alwákidi, och; and bad him be kind to the Muslemans, and think upon Mortality, and fo concluded. When he had done, he feal'd it with Mahomet's Seal, and deliver'd it to Abdo'rrabman, the same that brought him the Letter from Caled.

When Caledfent the Letter to Abubeker, he was upon his March from Ajnadin to Damascus. The poor Inhabitants had heard the lamentable News of the Loss of the Emperor's General and Army. In the mean time, whileit the Saracens were ablent, a great many of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, to fecure themfelves, got into Damaseus. The Return of the Saracens was expected daily, and all manner of Warlike Preparation was made for the enduring a Siege. Their Engines were planted upon the Walls, and Banners display'd. In a little time their Hearts aked, when they faw the Saracens appear with a formidable Army, flushed with Succefs, and enriched with the Spoils of their Countrymen and Neighbours, Amrou Ebno'l Aas led the Front, confifting of above nine Thousand Horse. After him came Abu Sophyan with two Thousand: Then Serjabil Ebn Hasa. nah

nab (who was one of Mahomet's Secre- Abubeker. taries when he wrote the Alcoran:) After him Omar Ebn Rebiyab. Caled marched in the Rear, and brought up the rest of the Army under the Standard of the Black Eagle. When they were within a Mile of the City, Caled called all the Generals together, and gave them their respective Charges, and faid to Abu Obeidab, "You know very well the Villainy and Deceit of " thefe People, and how they came " and fell upon our Rear, as we were " in our March to Ainadin. Have a " care of them therefore, and don't be " fo favourable, nor agree to give them " Security, for they will certainly play " fome Trick with you. Go and fit " down before the Gate Jabiyah, at a " good Distance, and assault them fre-" quently, and don't let the Length " of the Time make you uneasie, for "Victory is the Reward of Patience. Abu Obeidah went according to Order. and pitched his Tent, which was made of Hair; for he would by no means fuffer them to fet up one of those rich Tents which they had taken from the Greeks at Ajnadîn. Which my Author fays, " Proceeded from his great Humility

Abubeker, Alwakidi. ra'lamali.

" mility to God, and the \*Shortness of his Hope, and that he might not Arab. Kef- 66 please himself with the gay Things of this World, and the Possessions of " it. Forthey did not fight for Domi-" nion, but in Hopes of receiving a Re-" ward from God, and having their " Portion in a future State. And they " used to set those Tents and Spoil " which they had taken, at a great " Distance from them; and if at any " time they found any Victuals of the " Christians, they would not eat it, " because the Name of God was not mention'd over it when it was killed. Abu Sophyan was placed over against the Little Gate; Serjabil Ebn Hasanahat St. Thomas his Gate with 2000 Horse: Amrou Ebno'l Aas at Paradise Gate; Kais Ebn Hobeirah sat down before the Gate Kailan. There was another which was called St. Mark's Gate: were there was never any fighting, (whether because of the Incommodioufness of the Place, or for what other Reason, I know not) which upon that Account was called Babo'-'(salamab, The Gate of Peace. After he had given Orders to all the Officers, he went himfelf and fat down before the East Gate. Then

Then he call'd Derar to him; and gave Abubeker. him the Command of 2000 Horse, and ordered him to keep riding round about the Camp, and never stand still long in any Place, for fear any Succours should come from the Emperor, and furprize the Camp: And (fays he) if they be too hard for thee, fend to me, and I'll help thee. I suppose then (faid Derar) that I am to fland fill the mean while! No, no, (faid Caled) I don't mean so neither. There were none of the Saracens on Horfe-back. but those which were with Derar. whose Business it was to ride round the Camp, and guard it : For the Saracens, if they engaged Horse, used their Horses: If otherwise, they for the most part fought on Foot. Caled having thus formed his Siege, the next Morning early the Besieged fally'd out, and the Fight continu'd 'till the Evening. That same Day Caled received Abubeker's Letter, and after the Fight was over, fent it to the Generals, who were posted at the several Gates.

The poor Inhabitants perceiving themselves now besieged in good earnest, began to think of coming to Terms, and rather submit to pay Tri-

bute,

Alwákidi.

Abubeker. bute, and fo fecure their Lives and Fortunes; than by flanding it out, expofe themselves to inevitable Death. The chief of them met, and a confiderable part of them were very much inclined to furrender. Thomas, the Emperor's Son-in-law, lived then in Damascus, but as a private Man, not in any Commission; for the' the Emperor had offer'd him honourable Posts, he refused to accept of any Employment; but was nevertheless a Perfon of great Courage, and an excellent Soldier. Out of Respect to his Quality and Abilities, the Citizens thought it ladvisable to do nothing rashly, without having first consulted him. When they came to his Palace, he feem'd to wonder, That these vile Arabs, poor Wretches, naked and barefoot, and far from compleatly arm'd, should be able to put them in such a Consternation. He told them, That the Arabs were Masters of no Courage, but what was wholly owing to their Fear: That there was a great deal of Difference, both inrespect of Number, Arms, and every thing elfe that made an Army considerable, between them and the Damascens. Adding, That they had no reason to Despair of the Victory. The Citi-

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Citizens cold him, with Submission, Abubeket. that he was under a great Mistake: For the late Victories of the Arabs had furnished them very well with Arms. Befides, (faid they) they all fight like mad Men: for they encounter us naked, or any way, thounder never fo great Difadvantages; for they ftedfastly believe, that every one of their own Men that is killed, paffes immediately to Paradife, and every one of ours to Hell; and this makes them desperate. To which Thomas answered, That it was plain from thence, that they had no true Courage, who were forced to make use of such an Artifice to uncourage themselves to fight. Well, Sir, faid they, if you will be pleased to belp us, and put us in a way to make a Defence, we shall be at your Service other wife we must furrender. Thomas was afraid they should be in earnest; and, after a little Panse, he promifed to go out with them the next Morning.

They kept Watch all the Night, and supply'd the Absence of the Sun with numberless Lights placed in the Turrets. The Saracens were encouraging one another to do their utmost against the Enemies of God, as they used to call all but themselves. In the MornAbubeker. Alwákidi.

ing early they prepared for Battle; and the Saracens were ready to make a General Assault. All the Generals said their Prayers among their Men, and Caled bad them hold out, for they should rest after Death; adding, That is the best Rest which shall never be succeeded by any Labour. Thomas was ready in the Morning, and just as he was a going out, they fet up a Crucifix at the Gate, and the Bishop, attended with some other of the Clergy, brought the New-Testament, and placed it at a little Distance from the Crucifix. As Thomas went out at the Gate, he laid his Hand upon the Cover of the Testament, and faid, O God! If our Religion to be true, help us, and deliver us not into the Hand of our Enemies; but overthrow the Oppressor, for thou knowesthim. O God help those which profess the Truth, and are in the right way. Serjabilheard him fay fomething, but could not tell what; and when Romanus (who was the treacherous Governour of Bostra, and used to be their Interpreter) had explain'd it to him, he was very angry, and cried out; Thou lieft, thou Enemy of God; for Jesus is of no more account with Godthan Adam. He created him

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him out of the Duft, and made him a living Man, walking upon the Earth, and . afterwards raised him to Heaven. The Battel was joined forthwith, and Thomas fought admirably well; he was an incomparable Archer, and shot a great many of the Saracens. Among the rest he wounded Aban Ebn Said with a Poison'd Arrow. Aban drew out the Arrow, and unfolding his Turbant, bound up the Wound. But he quickly felt the Effect of the Poison in his Body, and not being able to hold up any longer, was carried into the Camp, where his Friends would by all means unbind the Wound, to dress it : but he told them, if they did, he should die instantly. Which accordingly happen'd, for they had no fooner open'd it, but he immediately languished; and when he could speak no longer; continued testifying, by Signs, the Stedfastness of his Belief in God and Mahomet. He was newly married : no longer ago than when the Saracens were at Ajnadin, to a brave Virago, one of the fighting fort, who could use a Bow and Arrows very well. As foon as she heard the News of his Death, she came running in great Haste, and when

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when she saw him, she bore it with admirable Patience, and said, Happy art thou, my Dear, thou art gone to thy Lord, who first joined us together, and then partedus afunder : I will revenge thy Death, and endeavour to the utmost of my Power to come to the Place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no Man ever touch me more, for I have dedicatedmy self to the Service of God. Then they washed him (as 'tis their Custom) and buried him forthwith with the usual Solemnities. She never wept nor wail'd, but with a Courage above what could be expected from the Weakness of her Sex, armed her felf with his Weapons, and went into the Battel, without Caled's notice. When she came into the Field, the asked whereabouts it was that Aban was kill'd. They told her, over against St. Thomas his Gate, and that Thomas, the Emperor's Son in law, was the Man that did it. Away she went towards the Place, and with the first Arrow shot the Standard-Bearer in the Hand. The Standard fell down, and the Saracens instantly fnatch'd it up, and carried it off. Thomas was grievously concern'd at the Loss of the Standard, and laid about him

him furiously, and ordered his Men to Abubeker. look about them narrowly, to fee if Alwakidi. they could find it any where, and retake it, if possible. When the Saracens that had it faw themselves hard befet, they shifted it from one to another, till it came into Serjabil's Hands. The Damascens follow'd Thomas with a great deal of Courage and Vigour, and there began a most bloody Battel; and all the while the Engines play'd from the Walls, upon the Saracens, and threw Stones and Arrows as thick as Hail. They plied them fo well from the Walls, that the Saracens were forced to retreat, and fight out of the reach of the Engines: Thomas at last spied the Standard in Serjabil's Hand, and made up to him, and fell upon him like a Lion: Upon which Serjabil threw the Standard away, and engaged his Adversary. Whilest they were fighting, and every one admir'd Thomas his Valour, Aban's Wife faw him, and asked who it was: They told her, it was the fame Man that killed her Husband. As foon as she heard that, she levelled an Arrow at him, and shot him into the Eye; fo that he was forc'd to retire into the City. The Saracens

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followed him close, and killed 200 in the Pursuit, and would have gone after him further, but they durst not for

the Engines.

Thomas had his Eye dreffed, but would by no means be perfwaded to go to his House, tho' the Inhabitants of the Town intreated him very much, and told him, that there was no Good to be done with thefe Arabs, but that the best way would be to furrender the Town. But he, being a Man of undaunted Courage and Refolution, faid, they would not come off fo; that they should not take his Standard, and put his Eye out unrevenged. He consider'd what Reflection it would be upon his Honour, and how the Emperor would look upon it, if he should suffer himfelf to be disheartned and daunted by the Arabs. The Battel continued till Night parted them; Thomas all the while continued in the Gate, meditating Revenge. When it was dark, he fent for the Chief Men of the City, and not at all daunted, faid to them, Look ye, you have to do with a People, who have neither good manners, nor Religion, nor any Faith or Honesty belonging to them, (for which Words my Author 19

is very angry with him, and gives Abubeker. him an hearty \* Curse) and if they Alwakidi. should make any Agreement with you, and \* Arab Kada give you Security, they'll never stand to ba'llain Achtheir Word, but lay the Country waste : that is, The And how can you bear to see what is dear-accursed est to you invaded, and your poor Children mas lyed. made Slaves, and your selves turned out God confound of House and Harbour, and deprived of him. all the Conveniencies of Life? They told him, they were ready at his Service, either to fight upon the Walls, or to fally. Then he ordered them every Man to make ready with all poffible speed, and all the Silence imaginable, that they might not give the least Alarm to the Saracens. All the armed Men were drawn up at the feveral Gates, and upon a Signal given by one fingle Stroke upon a Bell, the Gates were all opened at the same instant ; the Christians (some few only excepted, who were left to secure the Gates and the Walls) fallied out all together, and poured in upon the Saracen Camp like a Torrent, in hopes of finding them wounded and tired, and altogether unprovided to receive fo vigorous an Attack. The whole Camp was immediately alarmed; and affoon as Caled knew 1 3

Abubeker. Alwákidi, knew it, he faid, O God, who never Reepelt, lookupon thy Servants, and do not deliver them into the Hands of their Ene. mies. Then he order'd Pheljan Ebn Zeyad to supply his Place, and rode with 400 Men as fast as he could, and the Tears lay upon his Cheeks for the Concern he had upon him for his dear Saracens. The Care of Serjabil and Abu Obeidah made him very anxious, being well aware of Thomas's Valour. When he came near the Gate, he found how things stood; Thomas had fallen violently upon the Saracens, and before he came our, commanded his Men to give Quarter to none but the General. The Jews, which were in Damascus, plaid the Engines upon the Saracens. Thomas was again engag'd with his former Adversary Serjabil. Aban's Wife was among Serjabil's Men, and did great Execution with her Bow and Arrows, till she had spent them all but one, which she kept to make Signs with as she saw Occasion. Presently one of the Christians advanced up towards her, she that him in the Throat, and killed him, and was then taken Prisoner. Serjabil at last struck a violent Stroke, which Thomas receiving upon 6. 114

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

upon his Buckler, Serjabil's Sword broke. Thomas thought himself sure of him, and had certainly either killed him, or taken him Prisoner, but Abdo'rrabman and Aban (Othman's Son, who was afterwards Caliph ) came up at that instant with a Regiment of fresh Horse, and rescued both him and Aban's Wife. Thomas perceiving the Saracens came in fo fast upon him, retired into the City. We faid before that Abu Obeidah was posted at the Gate Jabiyab; he was in his Tent when the Christians first sallied out, and went to Prayers. Afterwards, whilst his Men were engaged, he took a Party, and got between the Christians and the City; fo that they were furrounded, and charged on both Sides. They made a quick dispatch of them, for never a Man that went out at that Gate, returned again: And tho' those that sallied at the other Gates escaped something better, yet the Christians had no Reafon to boast of any Advantage, having lost that Night feveral thousand Men.

The Christians now quite disheartned, came about *Thomas*, with repeated Intreaties to surrender; they told I 4 him, Abubeker, Alwakidi. him, they had loft above half their Men, and what were left were not fufficient for the Defence of the Town: They told him at last, in plain Terms, that as to what concern'd himself, he might manage as he pleas'd, but for their Parts they were resolved to get as good Terms for themselves as they could. Thomas, however, endeavour'd to perswade them to stay till he should write to the Grecian Emperor, and accordingly did write. The Saracens continued fighting hard, and reduced the Befieged to very great Streights, who now every Day made a worse Defence than other. They defired Caled to leave off the Affault, that they might have a little time to confider: But he turn'd a deaf Ear to them, for he had rather take them by Force, put them to the Sword, and let his Saracens have the Plunder, than that they should surrender and have fecurity for themselves and their Fortunes. But Abu Obeidah was of a quite different Disposition, a well meaning, merciful Man, who had rather at all times that they should furrender, and become Tributasies, than be exposed to any Extremity; and this the Besieged knew very well:

Wherefore, one Night they fent a Mef- Abubeker. senger that understood Arabick, out at that Gate where Abu Obeidah was posted, who called out to the Centinels, and defired fafe Conduct for fome of the Inhabitants of Damaseus to come to their Master Abu Obeidab, in order to talk of an Agreement. Affoon as Abu Obeidah was acquainted with the News, he was very glad to hear it, and fent Abu Hobeirah to the Damascens, to let them know that they should have free Liberty to go where they pleafed. They asked him whether or no he was one of Mahomet's Companions. that they might depend upon him? He told them, that he was, but that made no Difference; for if the meanest Slave among them had given them Security, it would have been all one, for they should have perform'd it, because God had faid, in the Book which he fent Alcoran to their Prophet Mahomet, \* Perform Chap.XVII.36. your Covenant, for that shall be called to an Account. Upon this, about an hundred of the Chief of the Citizens and Clergy went out, and when they came near the Camp some of the Saracens met them, and took off their Circingles, and conducted them to Abu Obeidab's Tent :

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Tent; who used them very civilly, and bad them fit down, and told them. that their Prophet Mahomet had commanded them to pay Respect to Perfons of Rank and Quality. They were very glad to find him fo courteous, and when they came to talk of Terms, they first defired that their Churches might be fecured to them, and not any way alienated. He granted them feven Churches, and gave them a Writing, but did not fet his own Name to it. nor any Witnesses, because he was not General. Then he went, attended with about an hundred Men, to take Possession. When he came to the Gates, he demanded Hostages; which being delivered, he enter'd into the City.

Caled was altogether ignorant of this Transaction, and was, at the very same time when this Business was concluded, making a sharp Assault at the East Gate, being especially provoked at the Loss of Caled Ebn Said, (Amrou Ebno'l Aas his Brother, by the Mother's Side) whom one of the Besieged had shot with a poison'd Arrow. In the mean time, there came to Caled from the Town one Josias a Priest, who told him, that having been long conversant with

ancient

Abubeker. Alwákidi,

ancient Writings and Prophecies, and especially the Prophet Daniel, he was abundantly satisfied of the future Greatness of the Saracen Empire; and proffer'd his Service to introduce him and his Army into the Town, upon Condition that Caled would grant him Security for him and his. Whether any Conviction that he had met with in reading that Prophet, or the Defire he had to preferve himfelf, was the prevailing Motive with him, I shall not determine. Neither did Caled much trouble himself about that, but gave him his Hand to perform the Condition, and fent with him an hundred Men, most of them Homerites, (a warlike Tribe of the Arabs) and bad them as foon as they were enter'd to cry out as loud as they could Allah Acbar, and make themselves Masters of the Gates, and break the Bolts, and remove the Chains, that he with the rest of the Army might march into the City without any Difficulty. This was accordingly perform'd. The poor Christians, assoon as ever they heard the Techir, (fothe Arabs call the crying out Allah Acbar) were fensible that the City was loft; and were feiz'd with fuch

an

Abubeker. lwakidi.

an Astonishment, that they let their Weapons fall out of their Heads. Caled entring at the East Gate with the Saracens, put all to the Sword, and Christian Blood streamed down the Streets of Damascus. They went on thus murdering all they found, till they came to St. Mary's Church, where they met with Abu Obeidah and his Company. When Caled faw Abu Obeidah and his Men in their March, and the Priests and Monks before them, and all the Saracens with their Swords by their Sides, not fo much as one drawn, he wonder'd what was the Matter. Abu Obeidah perceived in him Tokens of Diflike, and faid, God has delivered the City into my Hands by way of Surrender, and faved the Believers the Trouble of fighting. At which Caled was very angry, and faid, that he had taken it by the Sword, and they should have no Security. Abu Obeidab told him, that he had given them an Article in writing, which they had here to shew: Andhow (faid Caled) came you to agree with them, without acquainting me first? Did not you know me? Did not you know that I am

\* Arab. Sahhi- your General, and \* Master of your Counbo Rayecha. sels? And therefore I'll put them every

one to the Sword. I did not think (faid Abubeker. Alwakidi Abu Obeidah) that when I had made an Agreement, or \* design'd to do any thing, to Rayan. you would ever have contradicted me, or have gone about to make it void. But you Shall not make it void, for I have given all these People my Protection, and that in the Name of God and his Prophet, and all the Mustemans that were with me lik'd it, and approv'd it, and we don't use to be worse than our Word.

There was a great Noise made on both fides, and Caled would not abate an ace. The hungry Arabs that were with him were eager to fall on, and thirsted after Blood and Plunder. The poor Inhabitants were now in a very calamitous Condition, for every Man of them had been murther'd or made a Slave, if Abu Obeidabhad not stood their Friend; who seeing the Arabs fall on, and kill and take Prisoners, was extreamly concern'd, and call'd out in a Passion; \* By God, my Word is look'd upon as nothing, the Covenant Wallah, an which I make is broken. Then he turn'd out frehis Horse, and rode about among the quently ns'd by the Arabs;

who do not

account it any Profanation of the Divine Name, to swear by it but rather an Acknowledgment of his Omniposence and Omnipresence; ; and therefore we find it used by the most religious among them.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Soldiers, and faid, I adjure you by the Apostle of God, that you meddle with none of them, till you fee how Caled and I can adjust this Matter. With much ado he made them forbear; when the chief Officers came to them, and they all went together into the Church, to debate this Affair. Several of them enclined to the more merciful fide, for which they gave this very fubstantial Reason, viz. That there were a great many Cities still to be taken, and if it should once be reported about the Country, that the Saracens had broke their Promise after they had given Security; they must never expect to have any other Place surrender, but make the most obstinate Defence imaginable. At last some advised, that Caled should have the Disposal of that part of the Town which he had taken by the Sword, and Abu Obeidah of that which he had taken upon Articles; at least till such time as they could appeal to the Caliph, and be determined by his Sentence. This was fo reafonable a Proposal, that Caled could not refuse it; so at last he consented that the People should have their Protection, but would give no Quarter to Thomas and Herbis, nor any of their Soldiers. Abu

## the SARACENS.

Abubeker.

bu Obeidah told him, that they were all included, and begg'd of him not to make any further Disturbance about it.

And now we have feen Damasius, the most noble and ancient City of Syria, taken by the Saracens; we must leave the Conquerors in Possession, and the miserable Inhabitants in their deplorable Circumstances and take a View of Affairs at Medinab. \* Abubeker, the \* Alwakidi. Caliph, died the same Day that Damascus was taken t, which was on Friday, + Elmakin. the twenty third of August, in the Year Hegjrah 13. of our Lord fix hundred and thirty A. D. 634. four; and of the Hegjrab the thirteenth ||. There are various Reports Abu'lpheda. concerning his Death. Some fay, that he was poison'd by the Jews, eating Rice with Hareth Ebn Caldah, and that they both died of it within a Twelvemonth after \*. But Ayesha fays, that \* Ahmed Eba he bathed himself upon a cold Day, Mohammed Ebn Abdi which threw him into a Fever, of Rabbihi & which he died within fifteen Days: Abu'lpheda. All which time Omar faid Prayers publickly in his Place.

† When he perceived himself near + Author of the his Departure, he call'd his Secretary, History of the and gave him Directions to write as M.S. Arab.

Pocock, Num.

In 362.

bubeker

Infidel and

Wicked Shall

those Things relating to a

future State

believed and

ridiculed in

In the Name of the most merciful God.

This is the Testament of Abubeker Ebn Abi Kohapha, which be made at that time when he was just a going out of this World, and entering into the other. Atime in which the Infidel Shall believe, and the wicked Person be \* affured, and \* That is, The the Liar shall speak Truth. I appoint Omar Ebno'l Chitab my Successor over then be assured of the Reality of you; therefore hearken to him, and obey him. If he does that which is right and just, 'tis what I think and know of which they dishim. If he does otherwise, every Man must be rewarded according to his Works. their Life-time. I intend to do for the best, but I don't know hidden Things: But those who do Evil shall find the Consequences of it. Fare ye well, and the Mercy and Bleffing of God be upon you.

> When he designed to make Omar his Successor, Omar desired to be excus'd, and faid, he had no need of that Place. To which Abubeker answered that the Place had need of him, and so appointed him Caliph against his Will. Then he gave him fuch Instructions as he thought proper; and when Omar was gone

gone out of his Presence, he lifted up Abubeker. his Hand, and faid, O God! I intend nothing by this but the Peoples Good, and I fear lest there should be any Difference among them; and I have fet over them the best Man among them. They are thy Servants; unite them with thy Hand, and make their Affairs prosperous, and make him a good Governour; and spread abroad the Doctrine of the Prophet of Mercy, and make his Followers good Men.

Elmakin says, that he was the first that gathered together the scattered Chapters of the Alcoran, and digested them into one Volume. For in Mahomet's Time they were only in loofe and dispersed Writings. But when in the War which they had with Moseilamah; of which we have already given an Account, a great many of those who could read and repeat the Alcoran were killed: Abubeker was afraid lest any part of it should be lost; and gathered together what was extant in Writing, or what any of the Muslemans could repeat, and making one Volume of it, called it Mus-haph; which in the Arabick Tongue fignifies a Book or Volume \*. \* Abu'lphe This Book was committed to the Cuflody of Hapbfah, Omar's Daughter,

and

Joannes Andreas.

\* Kitâb Almoctafer phi Acbâri 'l bafhar. and one of Mahomet's Wives. But 70annes Andreas, who was himself a Moor by Birth, and Alfagui or chief Doctor of the Muslemans in Sciatinia. in the Kingdom of Valencia in Spain. and afterwards converted to the Christian Religion in the Year of our Lord 1487, fays, that this was not done till the time of Othman, the third Caliph after Mahomet. Eutychius in his Annals favs the fame. I believe them both to be mistaken, because I find in \* Abu'lpheda, that afterwards when Othman came to be Caliph, he observing the Variety of different Readings which were spread abroad, copied this Book which had been delivered to Haphfah, and abolish'd and destroy'd all other Copies which had different Readings from this; obliging all the Mahometans to receive this Copy as the only authentick Alcoran. Which Action of his I am fully perswaded, gave occafion to some to report, that Othman was the first that gathered the Chapters of it into one Volume; a Piece of Work of that Importance, that it can fcarcely be believed to have escaped the Zeal and Diligence of Abubeker and Omar.

Abubeker ;

As to the Character of this Caliph: he was a tall, lean Man, of a ruddy Complection, and a thin Beard, which he used to tinge with such Colours as are frequently used in the Eastern Countries, to make it look more graceful. He never faved any Money in the publick Treasury; but every Friday at Night, distributed what there was among Persons of Merit; to the Soldiers first; and after them, to those that were any other way deferving. His Chastity, Temperance, and neglect of the things of this Life, were exemplary. He defired Ayesha to take an Account of all that he had gotten fince he was Caliph, and distribute it among the Muslemans; being resolved not to be enriched by his Preferment, but ferve the publick gratis; only he took three Drachme (a Piece of Gold in use among the Arabs at that time; the true Value of which is now unknown to us) out of the publick Treasury, a Reward of his Service. His whole Inventory amounted to the Value of no more than five of those Drachme; which when Omar heard, he said, That Abubeker had left his Successor a hard Pattern.

'Tis

Abubeker.

'Tis usual with some Authors, when they give Characters of great Men, to mention some of their Sentences, or wife Sayings. The Arabs have not been deficient in this Particular. Nifaburiensis, (called so from Nisabour, the Metropolis of Chorafan; as it is most common for Arabick Authors to be distinguish'd by the Place of their Birthas much as by their Names) has collected in a little Book the grave and witty Sayings of Mahomet and his Successors, and fome of the Kings of Persia. Among fome others which he has recorded of Abubeker, there are these two very remarkable ones; \* Good Actions are a Guard against the Blows of Adversity. Pocock. Num. And this; Death is the easiest ( or least confiderable) of all things after it, and the hardest of all things before it.

He was fixty three Years old when he died; having reigned two (Lunar) Years, three Months and Nine Days.

\* Nifabûri, M. S. Arab.

2 1 5

OMAR

California e Charles Anna Lang

## OMAR EBNO'L CHITAB.

Omar.

The fecond Caliph after Mahomet.

Bubeker having taken Care of the Hegjrah 13. Succession by his last Testament, A. D. 634, all that Disturbance was prevented, which happen'd before upon the Death of Mahomet. I do not find in any Author, that Ali or his Party made any Opposition; but the same Day that Abubeker died, Omar was invested with the Regal and Pontifical Dignity, and faluted by universal Consent, The Ca-Elmakin, liph of the Caliph of the Apostle of God; that is, The Successor of the Successor of Mahomet. But when they confider'd that this Title was fomething too long, and that at the coming on of every new Caliph, it would grow longer still, they invented another, which should ferve for all the Caliphs to come, and that was Amiro'l Mumenina; Imperator Credentium, Emperor of the Believers. Which

Which afterwards was used to the succeeding Caliphs; Omar being the first that was ever called by that

Title.

Being thus confirmed in his new Dignity, he goes into the Pulpit, to make a Speech to the People. He did not fay much; but the Substance of it was ; That he should not have taken such a troublesome Charge upon bimself, bad it not been for the good Opinion that he had of them, and the great Hopes which he had conceived of their Perseverance in their Duty, and doing that which was commendable and Praise-worthy. Thus the Ceremony being over, which in the Infancy of that Government, whilst they had not yet attained that Grandeur which their Successors afterwards arrived at, was not very great; every Man went home very well fatisfy'd.

Omar, having taken upon him the Government, was desirous of nothing more than to make some Conquests in Irâk; and in order to this, sends Abu Obeid with an Army, joining to him Almothanna, Amrou, and Salit, who marched with their Forces till they came to Thaalabiyah, where they pitched

their

their Tents just by the River. Salit, confidering all things well, and Justly fearing that the Forces of the Persians were too great for them to encounter withal, did what he could to perswade Abu Obeid not to cross the River: telling him, that fince the Perfians were apparently too strong for them, it would be more advisable to reserve themselves for a fairer Opportunity, and retire into the Defarts, and there fecure themselves as well as they could, till they had fent to the Caliph for fresh Supplies. But Aba Obeid was so far from being perswaded by what he faid, that he called him Coward. Mothanna took him up, and told him, that what Salit had faid, was not the Effect of Cowardice, but that he had told him what he thought the best way; adding, that he was also of the same Opinion himself, and bad him have a Care how he passed over to the Enemies, for fear he should bring himfelf and those that were with him, into fuch Danger, as he could not bring them out of again. But Abu Obeid, deaf to all good Counsel, and impatient of Delay, forthwith commands a Bridge to be made, and marches over K 4

P 2 4

his Army. Salit and Mothanna, they
they did not at all approve of his
Conduct, yet having spoke what they
thought, to no purpose, went over after him. The Soldiers follow'd him
with an heavy Heart, grieved at the
Rashness of their General, which they
had just reason to fear would prove fatal to them.

As foon as they were got over the Bridge, Abu Obeid put his Men in Battle array, as well as the Shortness of the time would permit; for the Perfian Archers lay very hard at him, and wounded the Muslemans grievously. However Abu Obeid having got some part of his Army in tolerable Order, charged the Persians so furiously, that they could no longer keep their Ground, but ran away. Abu Obeid pursued, as being now affured of the Victory; but the Persians rallying again, and renewing their Charge, kill'd Abu Obeid, and routed the Muslemans. Those that remain'd of them made up to the Bridge; Almothanna all the while behaving himselflike an experienc'd Captain, fought in the Rear, and brought them off with as little Loss as could be expected. At last they got over the Bridge,

Bridge, and Mothanna after them; who was no fooner over, but he order'd the Bridge to be cut down, to prevent

the Pursuit of the Persians.

Mothanna having now fecured himfelf, fent the Caliph an Account of the whole Matter; and having acquainted him with Abu Obeid's Rashness in pasfing the River with fo small a Number, contrary to the Judgment of all the Officers, together with the Success which had followed fo unadvised an Undertaking, staid expecting further Orders. The Caliph commanded him to fecure himfelf in his Camp as well as he could, and not flir till he should receive the Supplies which he would take care to raise for him with all possible Expedition. Mothanna obeys the Order; in the mean time the Caliph fends special Messengers to the Tribes of the Arabs, to raife Men for the Service, which they speedily perform'd. The new raised Soldiers were muster'd at Medinah, and Jarir Ebn Abdo'llah was appointed their General, and fent with Orders to join Mothanna and the rest of the Forces, and, as Opportunity should serve, give Battle to the Persians. Farin being come to Thaalabiyah, where the

Omar.

rest of the Army was, they march'd to Dir Hind, where they encamped, and made frequent Excursions, plundering and destroying that Part of Irak, which lies next the River Euphrates. Arzemidocht, Queen of the Persians, perceiving the great Damage which the every Day receiv'd from the Arabian Army, thought it high time to look about her, and out of all the Chevalry, chose twelve thousand of the best Horse, and appointing Mahran General of them, fent them to repress the Insolencies and Outrages of the Arabs. They marched till they came to Hirah; where the Arabians, having called back those Troops which were gone to forage, met them. Both Armies were immediately joined. Mothanna fought amongst the thickest of the Persians, and was gotten into the midst of their Army, but bravely recovered himself, and returned to his own Men. The Persians behaved themselves fo well, that some of the Arabs gave Ground. Mothanna perceiving his Arabs flinch, tore his Beard; labouring as much as in him lay, to flay the Flight of his Men and restore the Battle, which he did in a great measure: And then began a most

most furious Engagement, which lasted from Noon till Sun-set, neither Party giving way, or retreating. 'Tis hard to guess which Side would have prevail'd, had not the Death of Mahran determined it; for Mothanna meeting him in the Battle, they fought Hand to Hand. Mabran struck at Mothanna. but his Sword did not pierce his Armour: Then immediately Mothanna gave him fuch a Blow upon his Shoulder, that he fell down dead. The Persians having lost their General, were quite disheartned, quitted the Field, and fled to Madayen. The Arabs, contented with their Victory, did not pursue them far, but returned to cure their wounded Men, and bury their dead.

The Persian Nobility perceiving the Saracens every way too hard for them, and that they had now made themselves Masters of the Borders of their Country, and were very likely to get more, began to be very uneasy, and laid all the Blame upon their Queen, Arzemidocht. Tis very common in those Eastern Countries to measure things by the Success; and if things go ill, neither the Grand Signior himself, nor the Sultan of Persia, nor the Empe-

ror

ror of the Moguls, can be secured from the Murmurs, and oftentimes Mutinies of their Subjects; who, tho' things be managed with all the Care and Circumfpection that Human Capacity can be Master of, yet if the Success does not answer their Expectation, never fail to complain of Male-Administration, and represent their Princes as Perfons unfit for Government, either for want of Abilities, or elfe because they look upon them to be unlucky and unfortunate, in which Matter the Eastern Nations are extremely superstitious. This the Queen experienc'd, for after this Battle was loft, and things went ill on all fides, the next thing they faid, was, This we get by suffering a Woman to rule over us; as if all their Miffortunes had been owing to her Mifmanagement; or, as if they might not have met with the same ill Success, under the Government of the wifest Prince in the World. However they consider'd nothing of this, but refolved to depose the poor Queen: Which they did, and placed Tazdejerd upon the Throne in her stead, who was a young Man of the Royal Family, descended from Cosroes the Son of Hormisdas. But they did not !

not much mend the Matter, for the Government of this new King of theirs was more inauspicious than that of the Queen could be; for in her Reign, the Confines of the Empire were only invaded, but in his, all was entirely lost, and the whole Kingdom and Country of the Persians fell into the Hands of

the Muslemans.

Tazdejerd being King, forthwith raifed an Army out of the feveral Provinces of his Kingdom, and made Rustam their General, who was descended of a noble Family, and had Years and Experience sufficient to recommend him to fuch a Post. Yazdejerd gave him Orders to march directly to Hirah, where the Arabs lay; and at the same time fent another great Army, under the Command of Albarzaman, a Persian Nobleman, to Ebwas, where Abu Musa Alashari, another of Omar's Captains, lay forraging and spoiling the Country. But all to no Purpose: The Persians, as if the Period of their Empire was at Hand, could have no Success, but were forced to fubmit to the rifing Greatness of the Saracenical Empire. Both these Persian Generals were killed, and both the Armies entirely routed and defea-Abu'lted.

Omar.

Abu'lpharagius, from whom I have taken this Account of the Transactions relating to Persia, is mistaken two Years. as to the time in which they were done: for he places them at the Beginning of Omar's Reign, which, as we have shewn before, was in the Year of our Lord fix hundred and thirty four. Now 'tis very well known that the Persian Acra (which they use to this Day) bears Date from the beginning of that Year, in which this same Tazdejerd, the last of the Persian Kings, came to the Crown; which was, as is confes'd on all Hands, the 16th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord fix hundred and thirty two. However, fince Abu'lpharagius has placed these Actions in Omar's Life, I have contented my felf with giving the Reader this Hint, and followed that Author in this Particular; especially, because I could not find any Place to proper for the interrupting the History of Syria, as the Taking of Da. mascus, and the Death of Abubeker; which both happening at the same time, (according to Alwakidi, who differs in that Particular from other Authors) made afort of a Period, and gave me a fair Opportunity of inferting whatever Was

\* Golius's
Noses upon
Alferganus,
p. 30.
Gravij Epochæ Celebriores.

was done by the Saracens in any other Country within that Compass of time.

Omar. Alwakidi.

And now the Series of our History requires us to return to the Damascens, whom we left just at that time when Abu Obeidab had with great Intreaty scarcely prevailed with Caled to ratify the Articles which he had made with the Besieged. Having obtain'd it at last with much ado, he told them, that they were at their Liberty to go where they pleas'd; but when they were out of the Bounds of that Part of the Country, which was taken by the Muslemans, they were also out of their Protection, and free from any Article or Agreement whatfoever. The Christians not content with this, defired their Protection for the Space of three Days, which way foever they went, and that none of the Saracens should pursue them during that time; after which they must be content to take their Fortune. To which Proposal Caled confented, but told them withal, that they should carry nothing with them out of the City, but Provision; which provoked Abu Obeidah afresh, who answer'd, that to use them so, would still be a Breach of Promise, he having engaged to give

Omar. Alwákidi.

give them leave to go out with Bag and Baggage. Then, said Caled, if they have that, they shall have no Arms. To which Herbis answered, that they must have Arms, it being impossible for them to travel fafely without. Abu Obeidah faid. Then let every one of them have something; be that has a Lance shall have no Sword, and be that takes a Bow, shall have no Lance; with which they were pretty well contented. Thomas and Herbis were the Captains of this unhappy Caravan, who had now lost all but what they could carry away; and instead of lofty and stately Palaces, pleasant Gardens and delicious Fare, must be glad to shift about where they can, and expose themfelves to all the Difficulties and Hazards of a tedious Journey, without any Regard had to Age, Sex or Degree. The tender and delicate Lady that once fcarce knew how to fet her Foot upon the Ground, must now be forc'd to go through inhospitable Defarts and craggy Mountains, deprived not only of her Superfluities, but of all the Conveniencies, and even the very Necessaries of Life. Thomas pitched a Tent on the Out-side of the City, and ordered his Men to bring the best of the things, the Plate, Jewels, Silk,

Silk, and the like, into it, in order to Omar. pack them up, and carry them away. The Emperor Heraclius had then in Damascus a Wardrobe, in which there were above 300 Loads of dyed Silks and Cloth of Gold, which were all pack'd up. The poor miserable Wretches took every one what they could any way carry, of the best things they had, and made all possible Haste to be gone. Damascus, once their Joy and Delight, could now no more be thought on without the utmost Regret. The Emperor Heraclius his Daughter went out among the rest, which followed Thomas and Herbis. Derar (who was vex'd at his Heart because Abu Obeidab had let them come off so well) stood by as they went out, and gnash'd his Teeth for Spight and Indignation. The Princess thought that the Reason of his Anger was because of the Spoil, and faid to him as she passed by, What's the Reason, Derar, that you mutter thus? Don't you know that \* with God there are + Arab. Ind's more and better things than thefe are ? lah. Derar swore, that it was not the Plunder that he valued; but what vexed him was the Peoples escaping, and not being all murder'd; adding, that Abu Obeidab had

Omar. Alwakidi.

had done a great Injury to the Muslemans in giving them Quarter. Athi Ebn Ammar hearing him fay fo, anfwered, That Abu Obeidah had done for the hest, in preventing the Effusion of the Blood of the Muslemans, (the most facred thing under the Sun) and giving them Rest from their Labours. Befides, God bas made the Hearts of the true Believers the Seat of Mercy, and those of the Infidels the Seat of Cruelty: And God has (aid in some of the inspired Books, that he was most merciful; and that be would not thew Mercy, but only to the merciful. Then he quoted a Passage in the Alcoran, to prove to him that † Agreement was Better. Derar told him, that he talk'd like an honest Man, but he swore, that for his Part be would never have Mercyupon any, that faid that God had a Son, and joined a Partner with God. Thomas and Herbis paid Abu Obeidah what they had bargained with him for, as the Redemption of their Lives and Liberties; and then those of them who chose to stay behind, and be Tributaries, staid; the rest, which were by far the greater Number, went away: Whom we must leave upon their March a while, and prepire our Ears for a very remarkable Re-Caled, fation.

+ Alcoran, Chap. IV. 27. Affúlhho Chairon.

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Caled, O bloody and infatiable Saracen! faw these poor Wretches carry away the fmall Remainder of their plentiful Fortunes, with a great deal of Regret: So mortally did he hate the Christians, that to see any of them alive, was Death to him. What does he do? Why! he orders his Men to keep themselves and their Horses well: and told them, that after the three Days were expired (for they had Security for that time) he defigned to purfue them; and faid, that his Mind gave him, that they should still overtake them, and have all the Plunder; For. fays he, they have left nothing valuable behind them, but have taken all the best of their Cloaths, and Plate, and lewels, and whatever is worth carrying along with them. Having thus prepared for his Journey, there happened another Controversy between him and the Townsmen that staid behind, concerning a great Quantity of Wheat and Barley. The Townsmen which had furrender'd to Abu Obeidah, faid, that it belong'd to them; Caled faid, that it was his, (and indeed fo was every thing elfe of the Christians that he could lay his Hands upon.)

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Abu Obeidab, who was always more courteous to the Christians, than could have been expected from a Saracen, took the Citizens Part. The Contention grew fo high, that they had like once more to have fallen together by the Ears, 'till at last they determin'd to write to Abubeker about it, not having yet receiv'd the News of his Death. This Disturbance detain'd Caled from pursuing the poor Damascens; for there were now four Days and as many Nights pass'd fince they went away, and there were but little Hopes of overtaking them; for he was well affur'd, that affoon as possibly they could they would fecure themselves in some walled Town; fo that he had quite laid afide the Thoughts of following them, had it not been for a very unfortunate Circumstance, which was thus:

The Reader may be pleased to remember that Derar Ben Alazwar, during the Siege, had two thousand Men given him to rider ound about, and furvey the Camp, lest they should be surpris'd, either by any Succours from the Emperor, or Sallies from the Town. It chanc'd one Night, as some of these

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Men were upon Duty, they heard a Horse neigh, which came out of the Gate Keifan. They stood still, and let him alone 'till he came up close to them, and took his Rider Prisoner. Immediately after, there came another Horseman out of the same Gate: which called the Man, who was taken Prisoner, by his Name. The Saracens bad him answer him, that he might come up, and they might take him too. But instead of that, he spoke out aloud in Greek, The Bird is taken. The Person he spoke to understood his Meaning very well, and return'd The Saracens back into the City. could not tell what he faid; only they knew that they had loft another Prifoner by the means: Upon which they had like to have killed him, but upon better Consideration they resolved to carry him to the General Caled, that he might dispose of him as he pleased. Caled asked him, what he was? I am, faid he, a Nobleman, and I married a young Lady, which I lov'd as my Life; and when I fent for her home, her Parents gave a flight Answer, and said, That they had something else to do. Wherefore I took a convenient Opportunity

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Omar. Awakidi. ty of speaking with her, and we agreed to come out in the Evening, and give a good round Sum of Money to him that was upon the Guard that Night. I coming out first, was surpriz'd by your Men, and to prevent her falling into your Hands, I call'd out, The Bird is taken. She apprehending my meaning went back with the two Servants that were with her; and who can blame me! Well, said Caled, and what have you to say to the Mahometan Religion? If you like that, when we take the City, you Shall have your Wife: If not, you are a dead Man. The poor Wretch being furpriz'd, and not having Faith enough to die a Martyr, renounc'd his Christianity, and made Confession of his Mahometanism in these Words: I testify, That there is but one God; he has no Partner; and Mahomet is the Apostle of God. Then he was entirely theirs, and used to fight among them valiantly. When the City was furrender'd, he went with all speed to find his Beloved. Upon Enquiry, he receiv'd Information, that she had shut her self up in a Nunnery; which was true enough. For the never expected to fee him more, after he was once fallen into the Hands of the Saracens; and fince all her Joy and De-

Delight in this World was gone, she resolved to spend the rest of her Days in the Contemplation of a better. He goes to the Church were she was, expecting to be received with abundance of Joy; in which he was very much deceived: For when he had asked her the Reason why she turn'd Nun; and the had told him; he no fooner made himself known, and acquainted her with the Change of his Religion, but the treated him with the utmost Contempt and Aversion, worthily thinking that he ought himself to be renounc'd by her, who had first renounced his Christianity; nor would the Remembrance of former Love, nor the Consideration of that Extremity which had oblig'd him to it, move her, nor beget in her one charitable Thought towards him; but she still continued firm in her Resolution to bid adieu to all the Enjoyments of this present Life, and never converse with him a-Wherefore, when Thomas ny more. and Herbis, attended with the rest of the miserable Damascens, went away, fhe went along with them. Her Departure wounded her Husband (Jonas) to the Heart: He was very instant with L4

Omar. Alwákidi. Omar. Alwákidi, with Caled to detain her by Force; who answer'd, I hat since they had furrender'd themselves, it could not be done: but they must all of them have free Liberty to gowhere they pleased. Here then is the main Spring of this Action. As foon as Jonas understood that Caled had a Design of pursuing the Damascens, he was very forward, and teaz'd him to go, and proffer'd his Service to be their Guide. But, as we have faid before, Caled, who was willing to pursue them after three Days were expired, being oblig'd to stay longer upon the account of the Controversy concerning the Corn, thought four Days too much Advantage on their fide, and had infallibly laid aside the Thoughts of it, if it had not been for the incessant Importunity of this damn'd Apostate, who was refov'd to gratify his own Humor, tho' it were by betraying into the Hands of merciless and unrelenting Saracens, Thousands of his innocent Countrymen, Women, and Children, who had already labour'd under the Calamities and Distresses of a confuming War. However nothing would fatisfy him but this Woman; and when Caled told him they were too far gone,

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gone, he never ceas'd spurring him forwards, telling him, That he knew all the Country, and how to follow them the nearest way; and whatever else he could think on to encourage the Undertaking. Caled, who was not backwards of himfelf to go about any thing that afforded the least prospect of Success, yielded to his Importunity, and so the Journey was concluded upon.

Caled chose out 4000 of the best Horse, which Jonas order'd to be cloath'd in the Habit of Christian Arabs; that being to travel in the Enemies Country, they might pass unfuspected. Then committing the Care of the Town and Army to Abu Obei dah, they departed. It was no hard Matter to follow such a great Multitude of People as went out of Damascus; for besides that the Footsteps of their Mules were visible enough, they fcattered things enough in their hafty Flight, to direct those who came after which way to purfue. The Saracens kept riding Night and Day, and never stood still, but only in Prayer-time. For a long time together they could trace them very plainly; but at last there appeared no Footsteps at all, nor

any

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any Signs by which they might make any Guess which way they were gone. What's the News now ? fad Caledto 70nas. Ob, fays he, they are turn'd out of the great Road, for fear of being pursu'd: You are in a manner as sure of them, as if you had already taken them. So he turns them out of the high Road, and leads them among the Mountains, where it was very bad travelling. The Way was so extreamly rough and uneven, that they could not ride without the greatest Hazard. The Horses struck Fire at every step, they beat off their Shooes, and batter'd their Hoofs to Pieces, that it was almost impossible for them to travel. They were forced to alight from their Horses, and then they could scarce get forward, on Foot, and those who had strong Boots on, well foal'd with Iron, had the Soals torn off from the Upper-Leathers. The Saracens who had been us'd to a great many Hardships, began to be extremely uneasy, and wished themselves again in the right Road. In short, every Man was heartily tired, but the indefatigable Lover. Caled himfelf could not tell what to think on't; but complain'd to Jonas, and told him, that

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that it was all his doing. At last they perceiv'd a great many Footsteps, which made them imagine that the People were gone before them. The Guide told Caled, that he was fure they could not be far before, because the Dung of their Horses was not yet dry. Upon this Caled call'd to his Men, to amend their Pace; but they told him, they were quite tired and worn out, and must of necessity stay and bait a while before they went any When they had refreshed further. their Horses, they kept going on; and where-ever they passed, the Country People mistook them for Christian Arabs. The Guide brought them to Jabalah and Laodicea; but they durst not pass through those Towns, for fear of being discover'd. Jonas at last enquir'd of a Country-man; who told them, that the Emperor hearing that the Damascens were upon their March towards Antioch, was fearful lest by their coming, and giving a terrible Account of the Sharpness of the Siege. and the Courage of the Saracens, those about him should be dishearten'd; and had therefore fent an Express to forbid their coming any nearer to Antioch, and

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and commanded them to go to Conflantinople. He told him also, that the Emperor was raising Forces to send sept. 1. 634. to Termouk. When Jonas had received this Intelligence, he was at a Loss. and could not tell what to do. Caled enquired of him what News? and he told him how it was, and that there was no hope of ever overtaking them; and besides, there was but one Mountain between them and that Place where the Emperor's Officers were raifing Forces to fend against them. As foon as Caled heard him mention the Forces, he turn'd as pale as Ashes. Derar, who had never observed in him any Signs of Fear before in all his Life-time, ask'd him, what was the Matter? Alas, fays he, 'tis not that I fear Death, or anything that may befall my felf, but because I am afraid lest the Emperor's Forces should get to Damascus, and do our People some Mischief in my Absence; especially remembring a Dream which I had not long since, and I cannot tell the Meaning of it. One of the Men asked him what it was? When he had told him, Abdo'rrahman, Soldier like, interpreted it all in Favour of the Saracens. So they continued their March,

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March, and there fell abundance of Rain that Night, which put them to a great deal of Inconvenience, but the poor Damascens to much more. In the Morning, after a tedious March, the Damascens found a pleasant Meadow, and the Sun shined comfortably upon them. Glad of this Opportunity, they sat down to rest their weary Limbs, and spred out their wet Cloaths to dry them. A great many of them, quite tired and satigued, lay down to

fleep.

In this Posture the Saracens found them. As foon as Caled understood the Matter. he divided his four thousand Men into four Regiments. The first was commanded by Derar Ebn Alazwar; the second by Raphi Ebn Omeirah; the third by Abdo'rrahman, Abubeker's Son. Caled himself brought up the fourth, having first charged the Officers, that they should not make their Appearance all at once, but leave alittle space one between the other, which was a very proper way to strike Terror into the Damascens; and was frequently used by the Saracens, both in their Field-Fights, and when they came to invest any Town. He bad them not

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not begin till they faw him fall on first, and not touch any of the Plunder till the Fight was over. The fight of the Meadow was fo pleafant and diverting, especially after they had been so harrast with that dismal Journey thro' the Rocks and Mountains, that they had like to have forgot what they came about. There they faw the purling Streams, the fine Flowers, and unspeakable Variety of rich Silks of all forts of Colours, curiously wrought, spread all over the Meadow; all which together afforded them a very entertaining Prospect, extreamly delightful and refreshing. After a little Pause, Caled began the Attack, more like a Lion or a Tyger than a Man, and bad his Men fall upon the Enemies of God. The Christians quickly knew who they were, but feeing but a few of them at first, despised the smalness of their Number, and prepared to fight. Thomas and Herbis encouraged their Men, and put them in as good Order as the time would permit. Thomas engaged Caled with five thousand Men, and after a sharp Dispute was killed, and his Men routed. As foon as Abdo'rrahman faw Thomas fall from his his Horse, he alighted, and cut off his Head, and put it upon the Point of the Standard of the Cross, and said, Alas for you, you Grecian Dogs, here's your

Master's Head.

Whilst they were thus engaged, it is no hard Matter to guess what was become of Jonas: He was engag'd too. but after a different manner, being among the Women, in Search of his Lady. Raphi Ebn Omeirah came up that way, and faw him and his Lady fighting; and at last he threw her violently against the Ground, and took her Prifoner. Whilst Raphi was making up to them, the Women stood upon their Defence, and pelted him with Stones. At last a young Lady happen'd to hit his Horse in the Forehead, and killed him. Raphi ran after her with his Sword drawn, and was just about striking her Head off, but she cry'd, Quarter; so he took her Prisoner. She was a Person of no less Dignity than the Emperor's Daughter, and Thomas's Wife; a Princess of incomparable Features, richly drefs'd, and had a great many Jewels about her Head. When Raphi had difpos'd of this rich Prisoner, he came to the Place where Jonas was, and found

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found him bath'd in Tears, and his Lady weltring in Blood. Raphi enquiring what was the Matter? Fonas wrung his Hands, and faid, Alas for me, the most miserable Man in the World! I came to this Woman, which I loved above all things in this Life, and would fain have perswaded her to return with me; but she continuing obstinate becaufe I had chang' dmy Religion, and vowing we should go to Constantinople, and there end her Days in a Nunnery, I refolv'dif I could not perswade her by fair Means, to make my felf Master of her by Force: So I threw her down, and took her Prisoner. When she saw that she was inmy Power, she sat quietly a while, and secretly drawing out a Knife, stabb'd her self in the Breast before I was aware, and fell down dead immediately. Raphi hearing this lamentable Story, wept too, and said, God did not design that you should live with her, and therefore has provided better for you. What's that? faid Jonas. I'll shew you, answered Raphi, a Prisoner I have taken, a Person of admirable Beauty, and richly drefs'd, which I will present to you to recompence your Loss. When they came together, Jonas and the Princess talk'd together in Greek,

Greek, and Raphi freely gave her to

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In the mean time Caled was employed in the Search of Herbis. last he faw a huge tall Man richly dress'd, which he imagined at first to have been the fame, and beat him down to the Ground with his Lance, faying, Alas for thee, Herbis didft thou think to escape me? The Man could speak Arabick well, and told him, that he was not Herbis, but another; and if he would spare him, he would give him more than he was aware of. No Quarter, fays Galed, unless you direct me to Herbis, that I may kill him; and if 6, I shall let you go your way without any Ransom. Well, tays the Man, I'lltell you; but make first a firm Agreement with me, that if I shew you where he is, you willlet mego. Tes, says Galid, if he falls into my Hands. Thistis one of your Tricks, faid the Christian, fo you gave us Security and Protection, and then afterwards followedus to this Place, when we never expetted any one should have pursu'd us; and now you tellme, that if Herbis falls ininyour Hands, you will let me go. I can tell; on where he is, but how can I promise that? At this Caled was angry, and faid, M Thou

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Thou Christian Dog! dost thou accuse us of Breach of Promise, who are the Com. panions of the Apostle of God? When we promise anything, we are as good as our Word. We did not come out after you. till the fourth Day was expired. The Christian desired him to get off from him, that he might shew him where Herbis was; for Caled, when he had beaten him down, fat upon him all the while. Then he look'd about, shew'd him a Party of Horse at a Distance, and told him, that Herbis was among them. Caled, upon this, called a Saracen to him, and bad him take Care of the Christian; and if Herbis was among that Company, he should let him go, but if he was caught in a Lye, he should strike his Head off. When Caled came thither, he alighted, and betook himself to his Sword and Target; and whilft he was fighting among the thickest of the Christians, Herbis came behind him, and gave him fuch a Blow, that he cleav'd his Helmet through to his Turbant, and with the Violence of the Stroak his Sword fell out of his Hand. About this time, Caled's Men came in timely to his Affistance, and fell upon the Christians, and

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and cut them all to Pieces. When they had now entirely ruin'd and destroy'd those miserable Creatures, which had escaped at the taking of Damascus, Caled called for the Man that had shewn him the way to Herbis, and told him, that fince he had perform'd what he had promis'd to them, they would do the same to him; only they were obliged to exhort and admonish him first : Wherefore he ask'd him, whether he could find in his Heart to become one of the Fasting and Praying People, the Followers of Mahomet? Upon his refufing to change his Religion, they difmis'd him, and he took the Road towards Constantinople, being the only Person that the Saracens knew of, that escaped the being killed or taken Prifoner, of all that numerous Train that followed Thomas and Herbis out of the Gates of Damascus.

Caled, when he came back, ask'd Jonas what was become of his Wife? who gave him an Account of that difmal Story, which we have already related. Hearing that the Princess was taken Prisoner, he commanded her to be brought into his Presence; and when he beheld her excellent Beauty,

M 2 come-

comely Proportion and agreeable Mein. he turned away his Head, and faid, Glory be to thee, O God! we praise thee. who createst what thou pleasest. Then he told Jonas, that if the Emperor did not redeem her, he should have her: Fonas accepted his Present very thankfully, and withal told him, that they were in a streight narrow Place, and that it was high time to be marching; for they might be fure that what they had done was noised about the Country, and it would not be long before they should be pursued. Before they got back to Damascus, they saw a great Dust behind them. Upon which Caled dispatches a Scout, to enquire what was the Matter? Who quickly discover'd the Crosses in the Colours, and brought him Word: But, contrary to the Expectation of the Saracens, there was no Hostility intended; only there came an old Man from among the Christians, who being at his Request conducted to the General, begg d of him, in the Emperor's Name, to dismiss the Princess his Daughter. Caled having advis'd with Jonas about it, confented to let her go; and faid to the Old Man, Tellyour Master that there will never be any

any Peace between him and me, till I Omar. Alwakid have gotten every Foot of Land be bas; and tho' I have fent him his Daughter now, I hope to have him instead of her

one of these Days.

It was not long before they came to Damascus, where they were so much the more welcome, because their long Absence had made their Friends there despair of their Return. Old Abu Obeidah was surpriz'd at Caled's Valour. Caled, referring a fifth part of the Spoils to be fent to the Caliph, and put into the publick Treasury, according to their Precept in the \* Alcoran, distributed \* Surato'l the rest among the Soldiers. He gave Anphâl. Chap. Jonas a good round Sum to buy him a Wife withal: But Jonas answered him in a very melancholy Tone, that he would never entertain any fuch Thoughts again in this World, but his next Wife should be one of those black-ey'd Women mention'd in the t Alcoran. He continued among the + Chap. LII. Saracens, and was ferviceable to them: 19. LVI. 22. till at last at the Battle of Termouk, he was shot in the Breast. Thus fell the Apostate. However my Author, for the Encouragement of new Proselytes, (for more forts of People than one will M 3

I Omar.

lye for Religion) tell us, that after he was dead, he was feen in a Vision by Raphi Ebn Omeirah very richly cloathed, and with gold Shoes upon his Feet, walking in a most beautiful verdant Meadow; and when Raphi asked him what God had done for him? Jonas answered, that he had given him seventy young Women, so bright and beautiful, that if any one of them should appear in this World, the Sun and Moon could not be seen for the Resplendency of her Beauty. When Caled heard of this Vision, he said, This it is to be a Martyr, happy is he that attains to it.

Caled, not having yet receiv'd Advice of Abubeker's Death, wrote a Letter to him, to acquaint him with the taking of Damascus, the Controversy between him and Abu Obeidah, and the Recovery of the Spoil which the Damascens had carried away. The Messenger being come to Medinah, wondered to find Omar in Abubeker's stead; and Omar finding the Letter directed to Abubeker, wonder'd the Saracens in Syria should be still ignorant of the Alteration in the Government, and told the Messenger, that he had written to Abu Obeidah about it, and given him the chief Command

Command over the Muslemans in Syria, and deposed Caled, tho' he thought that Abu Obeidah was not fond of that Employ. The truth of it is, Abu Obeidab had receiv'd the Letter, but kept it private; for being a very modest Man, and one that had not the least Spark of Ambition in him, he was very unwilling to take the Commission out of Caled's Hands: Wherefore he took no Notice of it to him, nor faid any thing to hinder his writing to the Caliph, after his Return from the Pursuit of the Damascens. Omar liked Abu Obeidah for his Piety, but had no Opinion at all of Caled. One Day as he was speaking to the People from the Pulpit, (as it was usual for the Caliphs then to talk about what concern'd the Publick, in a very familiar manner) he mention'd the taking away Caled's Commission, and conferring that Charge upon Abu Obeidab. A young Man that was present took the Freedom of telling him, that he wonder'd he would deprive fuch a Person as had been the Instrument of so good Success to the Muslemans; and that when Abubeker was moved by some about him to depose him, his Answer was, I hat he would not lay aside, nor sheath that Sword. which M 4

which God haddrawn for the Affiftance of the true Religion: And withal told Omar, That if he did it, he must anfwer it to God. Omar made but very little Answer, but came down from the Pulpit, and consider'd of it that Night. The next Day he came again, and told them, that fince the Care and Charge of the Muslemans was committed to him, he thought himself oblig'd to take the best Care of them he could. as one that must give an Account; and for that Reason was resolv'd to dispose of Places of Trust to such as deserv'd them, and not to fuch as did not: That he would give the Command of the Army to Abu Obeidah, whom he knew to be a Man of a tender and gentle Difposition, and one that would be kind to the Muslemans: That he did not approve of Caled, because he was prodigaland extravagant; adding, I would not have your Enemies think that it is ever the better for them, because I have depos'da fierce Man, and put a mild one in his Place; for God will be with him, and affift and strengthen bim. Then he came down from the Pulpit, and took a Sheet of Parchment, and wrote to Abu Obeidah a large Letter, full of good Advice. He told

told him, that he had given him the Omar. chief Command of the Army, and bad him not be too modest; and that he should take care not to expose the Muslemans to Danger, in hopes of getting Plunder. By which last Words he very plainly grated upon Caled's following the Damatcens into the Enemies Country. He charged him not to be deceived with this present World, and by that means perish, as a great many had done before him, and bad him look upon those who had gone before, and affure himself, that he must follow them. Then he adds, As for the Wheat and Barly, it belongs to the Muslemans, and so does the Gold and Silver, but there must be a \* fifth taken out of it. \* Alcoran. As for the Controversy between you and Chap. VIII. 15. Caled, concerning the City's being furrendered or taken by the Sword; it was furrendered. You must have it your way: You are Commander in chief, and have the Power of determining that Matter. If the Townsmen did surrender, upon Condition that they should have the Wheat and Barley, let them have it. As for Caled's pursuing the Damascens, it was a rash Undertaking; and if God had not been the more merciful, you had not come off so

well. Then, the taking the Emperor's Daughter, and letting her go unransomed, was prodigally done. You might have had a large Sum of Money for her, which would have done a Kindness among the poor Muslemans. Farewell, &c.

Having feal'd it up, he call'd Shaddad Ebn Aus, and order'd him, that as foon as he came to the Army, he should, after the Letter was read. cause the Muslemans to proclaim him Caliph in Damascus, and bad him be his representative. Shaddad Ben Aus and Amrou Ben Abi Wakkas made what haste they could to Damascus, and came to Caled's Tent, and paid their Respects, and told him how the Government was dispos'd of, and that they had a Letter from the Caliph, which was to be read in the hearing of the Muslemans. Caled did not like that very well, for he knew that Omar was not well affected towards him. They all wept when they heard of Abubeker's Death. Caled swore, That the' there was

\* I am in great Death. Cated Iwole, I hat the there was doubt, whether nothing upon the Earth dearer to him than I have render'd Abubeker; \* nor that he had a greater these Words

(nor that he had a greater Aversion to than to Omar) right, according so the Sense of the Original; but being now at great distance from the Manuscript, I am forced to follow my foul Copy.

Aver-

Alwakidi.

Aversion to than to Omar. But since Omar. Abubeker was dead, and bad appointed Omar his Successor, he was very willing to submit to God and to Omar. Then the Letter was read, and the same day + being the first of October, in the Year of our Lord 634, Shaddad was pro- + Hegjrah 13. claim'd Caliph at Damascus in Omar's I take the Listead. Upon this Caled resigns his berty as to this Commission, and Abu Obeidah takes from my Mathe whole Charge of the Army, and all nuscript, which the Affairs of the Muslemans in Syria Jays, that Shaddad was upon himself. Abu Obeidub was afraid proclaim'd in that Caled would have taken Difgust at Damascus, in his Removal; and (which is gene- of the Hegjrally the Effect of want of Encourage-rah, which anment) have been remiss in his Busi-Year of our ness; but he made the contrary appear Lord 635. fufficiently, in that great Action per-But all the Circumstances form'd at Dair Abil Kodos; or, The make it plain Monastery of the Holy Father. not be done so

the 14th Year that it could

bubeker (according to Elmakin) died the 23d of August, 634. and, according to Alwakidi, Damascus was taken the same Night that Abubeker died. Caled's Letter was sent as soon as he return'd from pursuing the Damascens; and Omar wrote his Answer soon after. Wherefore Shaddad could not be proclaim'd Caliph, on the third of Shaaban, on the 14th Year of the Heg jrah, but it must be on the thirteenth, which answers to the first of our October, and suits exactly well with the Circumstances of the History.

Dair Abi'l Kodos lies between Tripoli and Harran. There lived in that Place a Priest eminent for his singular Learning, Piety and Austerity of Life, to fuch a degree, that all forts of Perfons, Young and Old, Richard Poor, used to frequent his House, to ask his Bleffing, and receive his Instructions: There was no Person of what Rank or Quality foever, but thought their felves happy if they had his Prayers; and ilamin refiera when-ever any young Couple amongst the Nobility and Persons of the highest Rank were married, they were carry'd to him to receive his Bleffing. Every Easter there us'd to be a great Fair kept at his House, where they fold rich Silks and Sattins, Plate and Jewels, and costly Furniture of all forts. Abu Obeidah, now possess'd of Damascus, was in doubt whither to go next. One while he had Thoughts of turning to Ferusalem; another to Antioch. Whilst he was thus deliberating, a Christian that was under the Saracens Protection, inform'd him of this great Fair, which was about thirty Miles distant from Damascus. When he understood that there never used to be any Guards at the Fair, the Hopes of an

an eafy Conquest, and large Spoil, encouraged him to undertake it. He look'd round about upon the Muslemans, and asked which of 'em would undertake to command the Forces he should send upon this Expedition; and at the same time cast his Eye upon Caled, but was asham'd to command him, that had been his General fo lately. Caled understood his Meaning; but his being laid aside fluck a little in his Stomach, so that he would not proffer his Service. At last Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar (whose Mother was, after his Father Jaafar was killed in the Wars, married to Abubeker) of-Abu Obeidah accepted fer'd himself. him chearfully, and gave him a Standard and 500 Horse. There was never a Man among 'em but had been in feveral Battles. The Christian had first inform'd 'em of this Fair, was their Guide. And whilst they staid to rest themselvs in their March, he went before to take a View of the Fair. When he came back, he brought a very discouraging Account; for there had never been fuch a Fair feen before. He told them, that there was a most prodigious Number

ber of People, Abundance of Clergy, Officers, Courtiers and Soldiers. The occasion of which was, that the Prefect of Tripoli had marry'd his Daughter to a great Man, and they had brought the young Lady to this reverend Priest, to receive the Communion at his Hands. He added, that take them all together, Greeks, Armenians, Cophties, Fews, and Christians, there could be no fewer than ten thousand People, befides 5000 Horse, which were the Lady's Guard. Abdo'llab asked his Friends what they thought of it? They told him, that it was the best way to go back again, and not be accessary to their own Destruction. To which he answered, That he was afraid, if he should do so, God would be angry with him, and reckon him amongst the Number of those who are backward in his Service; and fo he should be miserable. I am not (faid he) willing to go back before I fight; and if any one will help me, God reward him: If not, Ishall not be angry with him. The rest of the Saracens hearing that, were ashamed to flinch from him; and told him, he might do as he pleased, they were ready at his Command. (fays Abdo'llab to the Guide) come along with

with us, and you shall see what the Companions of the Apostle of God are able to perform. Not I, answer'd the Guide, go your selves; I have nothing to say to you. Abdo'llab perswaded him with a great many good Words, to bear them Company till they came within fight of the Fair. Having conducted them as far as he thought fit, he bad them stay there, and lie close till Morning. In the Morning they confulted which way to attack them to the best Advantage. Omar Ebn Rebiyab thought it most adviseable to stay till the People had opened their Wares, and the Fair was begun, and then fall upon them when they were all employ'd. This Advice of his was approv'd by all. Abdo'llab divided his Men into five Troops, and order'd them to charge in five different Places, and not regard the Spoil, nor taking Prisoners, but put all to the Sword. When they came near the Monastery, the Christians stood as thick as possible. The Reverend Father had begun his Sermon, and they throng'd on all fides to hear him with a great deal of Attention. The young Lady was in the House, and her Guard stood round about it, with a great ma-

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ny of the Nobility and Officers richly cloath'd. When Abdo'llab faw this Number of People, he was not in the least discouraged, but turned himself about to the Saracens, and faid, The Apostle of God has faid, That Paradife is under the Shadow of Swords; either we shall succeed, and then we shall have all the Plunder; or else die, and so the next way to Paradife. The Words were no fooner out of his Mouth, but he fell upon them, and made a bloody Slaugh-When the Christians heard the Saracens make fuch a Noise, and cry out, Allah Achar, they were amaz'd and confounded, imagining that the whole Saracen Army had come from Damascus, and fallen upon'em; which put them at first into a most terrible Consternation. But when they had taken time to consider and look about

Arab. Were themselves a little, and saw that there spott in a Black was but a Handful of Men, they took Courage, and hemm'd them in round Camel's Skin. A Camel being on every fide; fo that Abdo'llab and ry frequent and his Party were \* like a little Island in a Creature vevery services the midst of the Ocean. As soon as ble in the East- Abdo'llab E.bn Anis (the Reader is deern Countries, they often men-fired to observe the Distinction of tion and allude Names, for a great many of 'em are very

to it in their Proverbs.

very much alike) perceived that Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar was in fo much Danger, he immediately turn'd his Horse, and rather flew than rode to Abu Obeidab, who asked him, what News? Ebn Anis told him, that Abdo'llab, and all the Muslemans with him were in apparent Hazard of being lost; and if they were not succour'd instantly, would infallibly be cut all to Pieces. And now 'twas high time to look out for Caled; (none like him and Derar in a Case of Extremity) so Abu Obeidah turn'd to him, and faid, I beg of thee, for God's sake, not to fail me in this Exigency, but go and help thy Brethren the Muslemans. Caled swore, that if Omar had given the Command of the Army to a Child, he would have obey'd him; adding, That he would not contradict him, but respected him as one that came into the Profession of the Mahomet an Religion before bimself. All that were present were wonderfully pleas'd with Caled's modest Answer; which does indeed deserve to be particularly taken notice of, especially considering how lately he had been turn'd out of his Commission. Abu Obeidah hastened him, and he immediately put on his N Ar-

Armour. His Coat of Mail was that which he took from Moseilamah, the false Prophet. Then he put on his Helmet, and over that a Cap, which he called the Bleffed Cap; it having received Mahomet's Benediction. on which he valu'd it more than all his Armour besides, and us'd frequently to attribute his Security and Success to it. His Men were instantly ready, and away they flew with all possible speed: and if we consider the Circumstances, they had need make as much Haste as they did; for that small Number of Saracens which had made the first Attack, was quite drowned and overwhelmed in that great Multitude of Christians, and there was scarce any of them but what had more Wounds than one. In short, they were at their last Gasp, and had nothing left to comfort them but Paradife. Fighting in this desperate Condition, about Sun-fet they faw the Dust fly, and Horsemen coming full speed, which did rather abate than add to their Courage; they imagining at first that they might be Christians. At last Caledappear'd, fierce as a Lyon, with his Colours flying in his Hand, and

and made up to Abdo'llab, who with much ado had born up his Standard all this while, and was now quite fpent. But as foon as they heard Caled's Voice, and faw the Mahometan Banner, the finking, drooping Saracens, who were fcarce able to hold their Swords, as if they had had new Blood and Spirits infus'd into 'em instead of those they had lost, took fresh Courage, and all together rent the Skies with Allah Acbar. Then Abdo'llab charg'd the Guard, which was round the Monastery, on the one fide: and Derar Abno'l Ezwar on the other. The Prefect of Tripoli himfelf was engaged with Derar, and was too hard for him, got him down, and lay upon him; at which time Derar fecretly drew a Knife, which he us'd to carry about him against such Occasions, and stabb'd him. he mounted the Prefect's Horse, and cry'd out Allah Acbar. Whilest Derar was engaged with the Prefect, Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar had taken Possesfion of the House, but meddled with nothing in it, till Caled came back, who was gone in pursuit of those Christians he had beaten, and followed'em N 2

to a River which was between them and Tripoli. The Greeks, as foon as they came to the River, took the Water. Caled purfued them no farther; but when he came back, found the Saracens in the Monastery. They feized all the Spoil, Silks, Cloaths, Houshold Stuff, Fruits and Provision, that were in the Fair; and all the Hangings, Money and Plate in the House; and took the young Lady, the Governour's Daughter, and forty Maids that waited upon her. So they loaded all their Jewels, Wealth and Furniture, upon Horses, Mules and Asses, and returned to Damascus, having left nothing behind them in the House but the old Religious.

While the Saracens were driving a-way the Spoil, Caled called out to the old Priest in the House, who would not vouchsafe him an Answer. When he call'd a second time; What would you have? (said the Priest) Get you gone about your Business; and assure your self, that God's Vengeance will light upon your Head, for spilling the Blood of so many Christians. How can that be (said Caled) when \* God has commanded us to

\* Alcoran, led) when \* God has commanded us to Chap. VIII. 40 fight with you, and kill you? And if the Apo-

Apostle of God (of Blessed Memory) had not commanded us to let such Men as you are alone, you should not have escaped any more than the rest, but I would have put you to a most cruel Death. The poor Religious held his Peace at this, and

answer'd him never a Word.

Abu Obeidah was all this while waiting with great Impatience, to hear what News. When they returned, he received them with all imaginable Expressions of Kindness and Affection, taking most particular Notice of Caled and Abdo'llah. Having taken out a \* Fifth, he distributed the rest of the \* Alcoran, Spoil among the Soldiers. He gave to Chap. VIII. 42. Derar Ebno'l Azwarthe Prefect of Tripoli's Horse and Saddle, who made a Present of them to his Sister Caulab. She, as foon as she had them, picked out all the precious Stones and Jewels, of which there was a great Number in the Trappings and Saddle, and divided them among the Women of her Acquaintance. Then they presented the Prisoners to Abu Obeidab, among which was the Prefect's Daughter. Abdo'llah asked that he might have her; but Abu Obeidah desired him to stay till he could write to the Caliph about it, N 3

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and have his Leave. Omar order'd him to let him have her, and he kept her till Tezid's Reign, (which began in the Year 679.) who begg'd her of him, and had her. There were a great many rich Cloaths curioufly wrought, in one of which was our Bleffed Saviour, which was carried with the rest into Arabia Fælix, and fold for ten times

is no absolute Necessity of unven only for that Piece, Saviour wrought upon embroider'd Cloth was fold he meant only embroider'd, is uncertain.

\* Indeed there its Weight in Gold.\* Whether the Efteem they had for the Person it rederstanding that presented, or the Fineness of the Work, Price to be gi-rais'd it to fuch a Price, my Authordoes not determine : but I believe it was both. which had our Then Abu Obeidah sent a Letter to the Caliph, in which he gave him a partiit; for the Au- cular Account of this last Victory, and thor says, The praised Caled extreamly; telling him how modefly and obediently he beso, but whether hav'd himself, and how well he perthat Piece, or all form'd; and defir'd that he would be the rest that was so kind as to write to him, and encourage him, and keep up his Spirits: But I never yet have met with any Answer to that Particular: for the old Gentleman always turn'd a deaf Ear to every thing that was faid in Praise of Caled: whatever the Matter was with him. 'tis most certain he did not like him. Among other Particulars which Abu Obeidab

Obeidab wrote of to the Caliph, he desired that he might either go and besiege Antioch, (then the Seat of the Grecian Emperor, who upon the taking of Damascus had || remov'd from Hems thither || Tho' some say or else Jerusalem, which he pleas'd. He his Residence was at Antioch acquainted him also, that the Musle-before the Saramans had learn'd to drink Wine in cons came into Syria. The Messenger went with the Letter to Medinah, and found Omar with his Friends in the Mosque. When Omar had read the Letter, and came to that last Particular, he shew'd it to Ali. (afterwards Caliph) and ask'd him, what he thought on't? Ali gravely answer'd, that whoever drank Wine. should have fourscore Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. Omar fent word to Abu Obeidah to deal with them accordingly, and fwore, That nothing would fuit with those Fellows, but Poverty and Hardship; whereas it would better become them to direct their Intentions aright, and observe the Commands of their most mighty Lord, and serve him, and believe in him, and give him Thanks. Abu Obeidah having receiv'd the Letter, punished the Offenders according to Order; and defir'd his Men, that if any of them were conscious to themselves of having been N 4 guilty

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Omar. Alwákidi. guilty of this Fault, they would, as a Testimony of the Sincerity of their Repentance, offer themselves to undergo this Penance of their own Accord. Upon which a great many came in, and submitted to the Punishment voluntarily, having no Accuser but their own Conscience. Then he told them, that his design was to march to Antioch, against the Grecian Dog. (for that was the best Compliment they could afford the Emperor.) The Saracens, according to their wonted Custom, encourag'd him to fight against the Enemies of God, and told him, they were ready at his Service. He told them, that he would go to Aleppo first, and then to Antioch. When they were ready to march, he called Caled, and order'd him to go in the Front, and take the Flag which Abubeker had given him at first, viz. the Black Eagle. Withhim went Derar, Raphi Ebn Omeirah, and feveral others of Note, with a confiderable Number of Men. Abu Obeidah having placed in Damascus a Garrison of 500 Horse, under the Command of Sefwan Ebn Amir, march'd after them. When he overtook them, he order'd Caled to ravage the Country all about Hems

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Hems and Kennisrin, while he himfelf should go to Baalbec, (formerly, call'd Heliopolis.) As he was upon his March towards Baalbec, when he came near Jushiyah, the Governour of Jushiyah came to meet him with a Present, and made a Truce with him for one whole Year; telling him, that if they conquer'd Baalbec, Hems, and Labwah, he should not stand in Opposition to him. Abu Obeidah confented, upon Condition, that he should pay him down four thousand Pieces of Gold, and fifty Silk Vests. This done, he goes forward in his March: As he was going, there came one upon a Camel, riding towards him full speed. When he drew near, Abu Obeidah knew him to be Asamah Ebn Zeid; who, making his Camel kneel, alighted; and, having paid his Respects, deliver'd him the following Letter.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From the Servant of God, Omar Ehn Alchitab, to his Lieutenant, Greeting. I praise the only God, besides whom there is no other; and I pray for his Prophet

Mahomet, upon whom be the Bleffing of God. There is no turning back the Decree and Determination of God; and be that is written an INFIDEL in the \*The Mahome. \* fecret Book, shall have no Faith. My tans believe that there is Speaking thus is occasion'd by Jabalah kept in Heaven Ebno'l Ayham, of the Tribe of Gassan, a Register of all who came to us with his Relations, and Persons and chief Men of his Tribe, whom I receiv'd Things which they call Aland entertain'd kindly. They made Prolauh ho'linehfession of the True Religion before me; and phoud, the I was glad that God had strengthen'd the Table which is kept secret. In True Religion, and the Professors of it, Decrees of God, by their Coming in, not knowing what was and whatsoever in † Secret. We went together on Pilshall come to pass, are suppo-grimage to Meccah, and Jabalah went sed to be Writt- round the Temple + seven times: as he

† Arab. Algaib, which signifies what soever is secret and unknown to us, as things spiritual, invisible and suture. It is frequently (in Arab. Authors opposed to what falls within the Compass of our Senses and Understanding.

‡ This is a Religious Ceremony used by all that go on Pilgrimage to

Meccah.

was going round, it chanc'd that a Man of the Tribe of Fezarah trod upon his . Vest, so that it fell from his Shoulders. Jabalah turn'd himfelf about, and faid, Woe be to thee! Thou hast uncover'd my Back in the facred Temple of God. The Man fwore that he did not design it: But Jabalah box'd him, broke bis Nofe, and beat out four of his Fore-Teeth. The poor Man bastned to me, and made his Complaint, desiring my Affistance. I commanded Jabalah to be brought before me, and ask'd him what mov'dhim to beat his Brother Musleman after this Fashion, and knock his Teeth out, and break his Nofe. He told me, that the Man had trod upon his Vest, and uncover'dhis Back; adding, that if it had not been for the Reverence be bore to the holy Temple he would have killed him. I told him he had made a fair Confession against himself; and if the injured Person would not forgive him, I

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must proceed with him by way of \* Reta- \*Retaliation, liation. or Lex Talionis, whereby the offending

Person is oblig'd to suffer the same Hurt which he doth to another, was commanded the Jews, Exod XXI. 24. Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, Foot for Foot: And is expressly enjoined by Mahomet, Alcoran II. 173. who inserted a great many things which he had from the Jews. The modern Rabbins interpret this Command of the Mosaical Law, as if it were only a pecuniary Mulct. Don Haac Abarbanel has a great many Arguments to prove that it ought not to be understood in a literal Senge. To instance in one or two: He asks, Whether if the effending Per

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liation. He answer'd, that he was a King, and the other a Peasant. Itold him, no Matter for that, they were both Muslemans, and in that Respect equal. Upon which he desired that his Punishment might be deferred till the next Day. I ask'd the injur'd Person, whether he was willing to stay so long? To which he gave his Consent. In the Night, Jabalah andhis Friends made their Escape, and he is gone to the Grecian Dog; but I hope in God that he will give thee the Victory over him. Sit down before Hems, and keep close toit; and fend thy Spies towards Antioch, for fear of the Christian Arabs. Health and Happiness, and the Blessing of God, be upon thee, and all the Muslemans.

What might not be expected from a Government, in which there flourish'd fuch impartial Administration of Justice? Abu Obeidab having read over

fon should have but one Eye or one Hand, he ought to be depriv'd of either, because he had struck out an Eye or cut off another Man's Hand that had two? Again, How would it be possible for a Judge to instit a Punishment, which should be exactly the same with the Injury, since that Stroke might prove mortal to one Man, which was not so to another; and so a Man might pay for a Wound which was not mortal, with the Loss of his Life. Thus far Abarbanel. But the Practice of the Mahometans is contrary. Only the injured Person may if he pleases accept of any other Satisfaction; but if he comes to a Judge, and demands Retaliation, he is oblig'd to let him have

the

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the Letter, first to himself, and then

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to the Muslemans, went on towards, Hems, (whither Caled was gone before with a third Part of the Army) and fat down before it in November, in the \* Year of our Lord 635. The Go. \* Hegjrah 14. vernour of the Town chanc'd to die A. D. 635. that same Day that Caled came before it. The Inhabitants expected that the Saracens would have taken Baalbec in their Way, before they should have had their Company at Hems: and therefore were not fo well provided to endure a Siege. Upon which Consideration, in hopes of gaining Opportunity to augment their Stores, they conclude to make Application to Abu Obeidah, to make a Truce with them, telling him, that if the Saracens conquer'd Haleb (Aleppo) Albådir, and Kinnasrin, and beat the Emperor's Forces, they should willing-Abu Obeidah consented to ly fubmit. make a Truce with them for the space of one whole Year, and no longer, which was to commence on the first Day of Dulhagjah of the present Year,

and expire on the last Day of the Month Sjewal, in the following Year, being the fifteenth of the Heg jrab; up-

on Condition that they should pay him down 10000 Pieces of Gold, and 200 Silk Vests. The Cessation of Arms was no fooner concluded upon. than the Hemessens open'd their Gates. and came out and kept a Market in the Saracen Camp. The Arabians, now enriched with the Spoils of the Country, gave them what they asked, and never stood for a Price; so that the Citizens turn'd the Penny well. In the mean time the Arabian Horse foraged all about the Country, both far and near. Among the rest Mesab Ebn Mobarib brought in abundance of Spoil, Sheep and Oxen, with a great many Horses and Camels loaden with Furniture, and 400 Captives, making most pitious Lamentation for the Calamity which had fallen upon them. Abu Obeidah, mov'd with Compassion, ask'd them why they did not come into the Profession of the Mahometan Religion? and by that means fecure their Lives and Fortunes, Wives and Children. They told him, that they were altogether furprized, not expecting any Hostilities from the Saracens, at that Distance they lived. Abu Obeidah, having ask'd Advice of the Muslemans, and they

they referring it wholly to himfelf, fet four Pieces of Gold upon every Head, Alwakidi. as Omar had order'd him to do in such Cases, and laying Tribute upon them, and obliging them, every one in his respective Capacity, to affift the Muslemans as Opportunity should ferve, gave them all their Cattle, Furniture. Wives and Children back again, having first enter'd all their Names, and the Places of their Habitation, in a Book kept for that purpose. The poor People were overjoy'd to find themfelves in fuch a happy Condition, after the being plung'd into the Depth of Despair, and acquainted their Neighbours with what an unexpected Favour they had received at the Hands of the Saracens. This Conduct did greatly facilitate the Conquest of the Arabians: for whereas an unrelenting Cruelty would have made every one desperate, and have fought it out to the last drop of Blood; when they faw that there was no Possibility of enjoying their Religion, and a Competency, by submitting themselves to those who would otherwise have taken all that they had by Force, and either have murder'd them every one, or at best

best made them Slaves; a great many chose rather to embrace the former Condition while it might be had, than run the Hazard of falling into the latter. By this Means the Saracens were strengthen'd, for they made use of these People on all Occasions. They served them for Interpreters, for Guides when they march'd, and feveral other Purposes; and from them they received Advice of all the Motions of the Christians, and Intelligence of whatever was debated or taken in hand to their Difadvantage. Quickly after, the News of Abu Obeidah's gentle Behaviour flew about the Country, a great many of the Greeks came in upon the same Terms, which he book'd and difmis'd peaceably. The Inhabitants of Alhadir and Kinnistin hearing this, entertained fome Thoughts of following their Example; but privately, and without the \* Some Arab. notice of \* Luke their Governour, who was a warlike Man, and refolv'd to bim Matthias; make a vigorous Resistance. I have observ'd Luke had an Antipathy against the Gobefore, very vernour of Aleppo; insomuch that when Names of the Heraclius fent for them both to confult which way was best to manage

Christians.

Authors call

the War, and both of them had affur'd

him.

him, they would do their best; they would not nevertheless join their Forces together, but look'd each Man to the Defence of his own Province. As foon as Luke understood that his People were disposed to submit themfelves to the Saracens, he was very much displeased; but dissembling his Anger, in hopes of preventing their Design by Stratagem, he calls a Council, and asked their Advice. They told him that they understood that the Arabs were a People that received into their Protection fuch as came to them, and used to stand to their Word: That fince they had come into Syria, their constant Practice had been, to kill and make Slaves of all that opposed them; at the same time protecting those in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Possessions which submitted to them. For which reason they thought it most adviseable to follow the Example of their Neighbours. 'He answered, that they were in the right, and therefore he defign'd to make a Truce with them, till the Emperor's Succours should come up, and then oppress them when they least suspected it. Up182

Omar. Alwakidi. Upon this he dispatches Astachar, a Priest, a very learned Man, Master of the Arabick Tongue, and thoroughly versed in the Jewish and Christian Theology, with a Letter to the Saracen General; in which he magnified the Greatness of the Emperor, and the Strength of the Place; adding, that all Attempts upon it would be in vain, not only upon the Account of its being well fortified and furnished with Plenty of Military Stores, but because the Emperor was now raising a vast Army in Europe, which were fhortly to be transported over the Bafphorus, and mustered at Tyre, for the Relief of Syria: That notwithstanding all these Advantages, they were nevertheless desirous to live at quiet, and were willing to have a Year's Truce, and the General should set a Mark at their Bounds; that when any of the Saracen Horse that foraged, came that way and faw the Sign, they should go no further to do any Mischief in their Country. That this Agreement of Truce was a Secret, and must not be known to Heraclius the Emperor, for fear of his Displeafure. With these Instructions Aftachar

char goes to Hems, where he found the Mahometans at Prayers. Prayers done, Abu Obeidah admits him, and when he offer'd to bow down to the Ground, would not fuffer him. When Caled had heard the Contents of the Letter, he did not like it, but shak'd his Head, and faid, That this did not look like the Stile of a Manthat desir'd Peace in earnest; and would fain have perfwaded Abu Obeidab not to hearken to him. But (faid he) let us go to the Place. and by \* Mahomet I'll make that City \* Arab. Was a Prey to the Muslemans, if it please hakkidini Refoul Allah. God, and a Terror to the rest. Softly! By the Veraci-(said Abu Obeidah) No Man knows the ty or Truth of Hearts of Men, but God only. Well the Apostle of then, answered Caled, make no Agree-God. ment with them, unless it be for good- Sometimes, Wahakki and all; and if they will accept of this, Resoul Allah. well and good; if not, let them alone. I As it may be in this Place. hope, by the Help of God, I shall be a Match for them. Aftachar was surpiz'd at Caled's Roughness, and said, That the Character which he had heard of the Arabs was not true; for the Christians had been informed that they were very gentle and courteous to all fuch Persons as came to feek their Protection: But no v (adds he) I find the contrary, for I come to propose 0 2

propose Terms of Peace, and you are not willing to accept them. To which Caled answer'd, that they were not willing to be impos'd upon, but had great reafon to suspect the Sincerity of these Overtures; and if there should come any Affistance from the Emperor, and they faw any Advantage on their own fide, they would be the first that would take up Arms against the Saracens, notwithstanding their present pretended Defire of Peace. However a Cessation of Arms should be granted for a Twelve-month, upon Condition, that if any Forces were fent by the Grecian Emperor, the Inhabitants of the City should keep themfelves within their own Walls, and not stir out to their Assistance. done, Aftachar ask'd for a Copy of the Agreement, which Abu Obeidab having given him, he desir'd that there might be some Sign set up at the Limits of their Territories, that when the Soldiers faw it they might not forage in the Country. Abu Obeidab said, he would take care to have it done: But Aftachar told him, he need not trouble any of his own Men, for they intended, with his Leave, to do it themselves. Accordingly

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dingly the Greeks erected a \*Pillar, Omar. upon the Top of which they carved at the Grecian Emperor fitting upon his This same Sto-Things being thus my is in Euty-Throne. All made easy for a while, between the nals. Saracens and the Governour of Kinnifrin, there happen'd an unlucky Accident, which had like to have occasion'd a Misunderstanding between them. Some of the Saracen Horse passing that way, and observing the curious Workmanship of the Pillar. admir'd it. They spent some Time in viewing it, riding past it backward and forward, and exercifing themselves round about it. At last, as one of 'em past by it in a full Career, with his Tavelin in his Hand: the Iron which was fastened in the lower end of the Javelin, accidentally struck out one of the Eyes of the carved Emperor. This taking Air, was misconstrued by the Greeks as a most vile Indignity offer'd to the Emperor in Effigie, and a manifest Breach of the Truce. Upon this Messengers are dispatch'd to Abu Obeidab, who expostulate the liqury with a great deal of Clamour, and infiftupon Satisfaction. He declares, that his Intent was to keep his Word inviolably,

bly, and that he was well affur'd, that whoever did it, had no design to shew any Difrespect to the Emperor; and that the Sincerity of his Intentions might appear, proffer'd any reasonable Satis-Nothing would fatisfy them faction. but Retaliation, and the Affront offer'd to the Emperor must be return'd upon the Calipb. In which Demand, when he that spoke, express'd himself unwarily, and talk'd of putting out one of Omar's Eyes, the rude Saracensthinking he meant litterally as he spoke, were so inflam'd, that had not Abu Obeidabrestrain'd them, by telling them, that these People wanted Sense, and must be born with, they had rushed upon them inflantly, and killed 'em upon the spot. Abu Obeidah told 'em, that they might fet up his Statue if they wou'd, and do what they pleas'd with it: But nothing would ferve but the Statue of the Caliph. To which at last, wearied with Importunity, he conferred. They having made a Statue to reprefent Omar, and put two Glass Eyes in the Head of it, order'd one of their Men to strike out one of 'em with a Lance. And thus, having receiv'd fufficient Reparation for the Injury receiv'd, they were very well pacify'd. Abu

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fending out his Horse to forage, and expecting with great Impatience the Expiration of the Truce, which had tied up his Hands from offering any Hostility within the Territories of Hems, Alhadir and Kinnistrin. Omar in the mean time wondered at Abu Obeidah's Silence, and not having heard of any considerable Action a long time, grew very angry: At last he wrote a short snapping fort of a Letter to Abu Obeidah, as fellows:

In the Name of the most merdiful God.

\* So they quote the Alcoran. From Omar Ebno ! Chitab, to Abu But when they Obeidah Ebno'l Jerahh, his Lieutenant mention any of Mahomet's in Syria, Greeting. I praife God, be-sayings, they fides whom there is no other; and I pray fet down bis for his Prophet Mahomet, upon whom Hame. + This is the be the Bleffing of God. I command thee to twenty fourth put thy Trust in God; and I bid thee Verse of the Ninth Chapter take heed that thou be not one of those, of the Alcoran. concerning whom God \* fays; † " SAY, In which, (as if your Parents, or Children, or situde of other " Friends, or Wives, or Families, or Places) Mahothe Riches you have gained, or the met introduces to " Merchandice which you are afraid him thus, SAY, you should not fell, or the Houses [to the People] , which rents, 60. 0 4

" which you delight in be dearer to " you than God and his Apostle, and " the fighting for his Service; stay till " God shall accomplish what he has " decreed. God does not direct those " that do wickedly.

The Muslemans had no fooner heard the Letter, than they perfectly understood that Omar delign'd by it to rebuke them for their Negligence Abu Obeidab repented himself heartily that he had granted a Truce to the Inhabitants of Alhadir and Kinnisrin, and all the Muslemans wept for corrow, because they had been so remis in their Duty; and asked Abu Obeidah, why he fat still, and did not lead them forth to \* Arab. Jehåd. fight the \* Battles of the Lord? defiring of him at the same time to leave Kinnisrin, and march either to Aleppa or Antioch: before either of which were taken, the Truce would be expir'd. Upon this he had Thoughts of going to Aleppo; and having left Salmah with a Party of Horse at Hems, the first Place he came at was Arrestan; from thence he march'd to Hamah, afterwards the Seat of the famous Abu'lpheda) and from thence to Shaizar; with all which

Bellum Sacrum,

which Places he made Truce upon Conditions. At Shaizar, he receiv'd Information, that the Governour of Kinnifrin (contrary to the Articles of Truce) had wrote to the Emperor for fresh Supplies; who had fent Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham to his Affistance. Upon which, Abu Obeidah defers his intended March to Aleppo, defigning to fall upon Kinnifrin, as foon as the Truce should be expir'd, which did not now want quite a Month. The Governour of Kinnifrin going out to meet Jabalah, and the Prefect of Ammouriyah coming to his Assistance was unfortunately intercepted by Caled; who, having ventur'd upon that Undertaking with an inconfiderable Number of Men, escap'd the greatest Danger, being on every side furrounded with the Christians: After he had kill'd the Prefect of Kinnisrin. Raphi Ebn Omeirah faid to him, \*Our \* Arab. Jaa Time is come. To which he answer'd, Ajálona. That he believ'd fo, because he had forgot his Cap, which us'd to do him fuch singular Service; and which he should not have left behind him, if it had not been so decreed: But speedy Relief coming from Abu Obeidab, they were deliver'd beyond all Expectation. Abu

Abu Obeidah, fully refolv'd now to be. siege Kinnisrin, sent a Party of Horse before, who forag'd and wasted all the Country round about. The Prisoners which they took were fent to the Caliph, and he took Care to out the Boys to the Writing School, according to the Command of their Prophet Mahomet; who, tho' he could neither write nor read himself, was very well sensible of the use of it. The Inhabitants of Kinnifrin having lost their Governour, and being altogether out of Hopes of escaping, su'd for Protection, and submitted to pay Tribute, being first poll'd, according to Omar's Order, at the Rate of four Ducats an Head. Kinnisrin being raken, Abu Obeidah call'dhis Muflemans together, and faid, Tell me (God blefs you) your Advice; for God has faid in the mighty Book, ( meaning the Alcoran) to his Prophet Mahomet, ASK THEIR ADVICE IN A MAT-TER, AND TRUST UPON GOD; and the Apostle of God has faid. HE THAT TAKES AD-VICE. IS SECURE: fball we go to Aleppo, or Antioch? They told him, that the time of the Truce which he had made with the neighbouring Places mor.

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Places was almost expir'd, and therefore they were of Opinion, that it would be most advisable to take them in their way, before they mov'd any further into the Country; especially they chose to go to Baalbec, where they had Reason to expect a vigorous Oppolition. Abu Obeidah hereupon, leaving Caled to beliege Hems, march'd himself to Baalbec; where, when the Saracens came, they found themselves not at all disappointed in their Expeclation; for the Place was very well fortified, and stor'd with warlike Provision. The Saracens intercepted a Caravan, with 400 Loads of Silks and Sugars, upon their Journey to Baalbec. Abu Obeidah put none of them to Death, (as not bearing Arms) but gave them Leave to ranfon themselves. Some of them going to Baalber, acquainted the Inhabitants with the Loss of the Caravan; who under the Conduct of Herbis their Governour, went out in Hopes of recovering it, to the Number of fix thousand Horse, attended with a Rabble of the undifciplin'd Multitude; who imagining that the main Body of the Saracen Army had still continu'd at Hems, and that the Cara-

\* Alcoran,

van had been spoil'd only by a Party of Foragers; encountring with Abu Obeidah under so great a Disadvantage, were overthrown and routed, Herbis, their General, receiving no less than seven Wounds, and with great Difficulty and Hazard retiring to the City. When Abu Obeidah came before it, the Saracens refolv'd to besiege it streightly. Medd Ebn Jabal told Abu Obeidab, that he knew the People of the Town were ready to tread one upon another, and he thought it could fearce contain them all; adding, If we hold out against it, we hope that God will deliver it into the Hands of the Muslemans; for God will not cease to give the Earth for an Inheritance to his Servants the Saints, because \* he has said, WE have written in Chap. XXI. 105 the P Calms, that my Servants the Saints Challinherit the Earth. The next Day Abu Obeidah wrote a Letter to the Befieg'd, in which he put them in Mind of the Victories God had already granted to the Faithful, over those which oppofed them, and offered to receive them, paying Tribute as others had done before them. This Letter he gave to a Country-man that was under their Protection, and a Reward of twenty Pieces

Pieces of Silver, faying, That he was none of those that would make use of any Man's Service, and not pay him for it. The Messenger coming to the Wall, they let down a Rope, which he having tied about his middle, they drew him up. The Letter being read, (for Abu Obeidah, when he wrote to the Greeks, made use of a Greek Secretary) the Besieged were divided in their Opinions. and a great many of them inclin'd to furrender: which Herbis the Governour was fo averfe to, that he tore the Letter in Pieces, and threw it to the Meffenger, commanding him to be forthwith fent back again, which was all the Answer he vouchsafed to give to it.

The Saracens, upon this, besieging the City, were bravely repuls'd by the Besieged, who did them a great deal of Damage with their Engines planted upon the Walls. The Valour of the Citizens, together with the extreme Coldness of the Weather, made the Saracens glad to lay by their Assault. The next Morning, after Prayers were over, a Cryer went round the Camp, commanding in the General's Name, that never a Man of them should stir,

or do any thing elfe, before he got him. felf ready some hot Victuals. The Order was no fooner heard than obev'd. and every Man went to work for himfelf. Whilst they were in the midst of their Cookery, the Besseged fallied. The Saracens were immediately alarm'd. Among the rest, Abmed Ebn Afed was just a going to put his Hand to his Mouth, when Abu Obeidab struck him a good Blow with a Truncheon, and gave him a hearty Curfe into the Bargain. The poor Man started up on a fuddain, and like one fcar'd out of his Wits, fnatch'd up a Tent-pole, and ran and charg'd the Enemy, scarce knowing where he was, till he was got in the midst of them. The Saracens surpriz'd in this Disorder, did with much ado beat back the Besieged. who nevertheless carried off with them fome Prisoners and Plunder. In the Evening the Chief of the Saracens met at Abu Obeidab's Tent, and faid, You see the Courage of these People, what do you think to do in this Cafe? To which he answer'd, That the Damage sustain'd by the Saracens was decreed by God, who was pleas'd to bonour those Persons that werekill dwith the Degree of Martyrdom. Then

Then he commanded them to remove their Tents to a greater Distance from the City, that they might have a larger Space for their Horses to course in. He gave to Said Ebn Zeid the Command of 500 Horse, and 300 Foot, with Orders to go into the Valley, and keep the Greeks in Play at that Gate. which was opposite to the Mountains, that their Forces might be divided; and they oblig'd to fight in Parcels. Derar was plac'd at that Gate which looks towards Damascus, with 300 Horse and 200 Foot. The next Morning about Break of Day, Herbis the Governour. with a strong Body of Men, fallied out at that Gate where Abu Obeidah himself was posted; encouraging his Men, and telling them, that the Saracens were afraid of them, and bidding them remember, that they fought for their Religion, Wives, Children, and Fortunes; in a Word, what soever was dear to them. They answer'd him chearfully, That though they were afraid of the Arabs at first, yet they were not fo now, being a little better acquainted with their manner of fighting: Besides, the Arabs were half naked; fome of them fighting without Ar-

Armour, others with scarce Cloaths e. nough to cover them; whereas (faid they) we have good Helmets, Breaftplates, and Coats of Mail. Abu Obeidah on the other fide was not wanting to tell the Saracens that they must have Patience; for God had promis'd good Success to those that held out to the last. The Greeks encourag'd with Yesterday's Victory, charg'd the Saracens home, and the Battle was maintain'd with great Obstinacy on both sides, yet so as the Greeks had apparently the Advantage. At that time Sohail Ebn Sabah received a Wound in his Right Arm, which disabled him so, that he could not hold up his Sword: Upon which he alighted from his Horse, and having told his Friends that he was no longer able to defend himself, retired out of the Battle to a neighbouring Hill; which having clamber'd up, not without fome Pain and Difficulty, he had a clear Prospect of both the Armies. The Greeks, as we faid, having fallied out upon Abu Obeidab's Quarters, there was nothing to do at those Gates where Derar and Said Ebn Zeid were posted. Sobail observing this, and that Abu Obeidah was forc'd to give Ground, without

out any Order from the General, or any Person's knowing it, kindled a Fire, and with some green Sticks, made a great Smoak upon the Top of the Hill. Assoon as Said and Derar perceived it, they imagin'd it to have been a Signal from the General for them to come up, that being the most usual Signal among the Saracens by Day, as Fire was by Night, when they had a Mind to call those together, who were posted at any Distance. Upon this Derar and Said rode with their Men full speed, and came feafonably to the Relief of their Brethren: For the Greeks by thistime thought themselves secure of the Victory; but finding themselves surrounded, the Case was quite alter'd with them; and they who fo few Minutes ago expected to have won the Field, now defpair'd of getting back to their own City: However, they joining close together, and fighting bravely, made an impenetrable Phalanx; which, maugre all Opposition, gain'd the Top of an Hill, on which there flood an old deferted Monastery, whither Herbis and his Men retir'd, and stood upon their own Defence. Abu Obeidah who as yet knew nothing of Said and Derar's being come from

from the Places where he had posted them, perceiving with what undaunted Courage these Men fought, imagined their Retreat feign'd, only with a Defign to draw the Saracens out of Order, and therefore would not let his Men pursue them. But Said Ebn Zeid hearing nothing of the General's Order, follow'd them to the Top of the Hill. There leaving one in his Room with Orders not to fuffer a Man to stir out of the House, he with twenty of his Men went to acquaint Abu Obeidah with the News. Who feeing him come with fo few, was furpriz'd, and ask'd him what was become of the rest. Said told him, they were all fafe and found, and had befieg'd the Enemies of God (a Compliment they are very liberal of to the Christians) in an old House, acquainting him with all the Circumstances of the Story. Then Abu Obeidab enquir'd of him and Derar, what made them flir from their Posts? Said swore, that be did nothing contrary to order, for he never stir'd till he faw the Smoak. Abu Obeidah confess'd that it was well they came, for he was afraid the Greeks would have feiz'd their Camp, and wished for them,

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them, or for some Body to make Smoak. Said again politively affirm ing that there was a Smoak, Abu Obei dah was aftonish'd, and made Proclamation throughout the Camp, Whoever he be that kindled the Fire, and Smoak upon the Hill, let him speak; and this with an Abjuration. Upon this Sohail came forth, and confess'd it, and told the reason why he did it. Abu Obeidah was very glad it happen'd fo well, but charged them all strictly, none of them should ever dare to attempt any fuch thing again, without the Permission of their General.

Whilest Abu Obeidah was talking to Sohail, a Saracen came with all speed from the Mountain, and alarm'd the whole Camp. Herbis perceiving by how fmall a Number he was befreged in the House, being now fewer than 500, took Courage, and fallied, in hopes of recovering the City. They fought bravely, and handled the Saracens at fuch a rate, that Mesab Ebn Adi, who was present in most of the Battles fought in Syria, said, that of all he ever beheld, he never faw any Men behave themselves better, nor stand clofer to it, than those Greeks which were

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Abu Obeidab leaving Said Ebn Zeid to take care of the Governour, drew up his Men, and ordered them to pitch their Tents about the City; For (fays he) God has circumvented your Enemy, and perform'd that Promifewhich he made to us, to help us,; and this is because God is a Protector of those who put their Trust in him; but as for the Insidels, they have no Protector. Herbis, the Governour, finding himself streighten'd, began to repent

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repent himself that ever he came into that old House. He considered with great Concern, that in a very short time he and his Men must needs be reduced for want of Provision. Nor could any about him, supposing they could have found a Possibility of fending, think of any Person capable of affisting them in these deplorable Circumstan-The Saracens having taken for many Places already, had spread such a Terror around the Country, that those which remained were under too great a Concern for their own Prefervation, to be at leifure to lend an helping Hand to their distress'd Neighbours. A great many others had by Agreement to a Truce, rendered themfelves incapable of bearing Arms at that time against the Saracens. In this miserable State, no other Prospect offering it felf, compelled by Necessity, they were forced to furrender them. felves into the Hands of their Conquerors. Herbis calls out aloud, and asks if there were any Person that understood him. Being asked by an Interpreter what he would have; he defired that he might be fecur'd from Danger of the Archers, and that Said would come P 3

near

near and talk with him. Said anfwer'd, that he ow'd him no fuch Respect; but if he had any thing to fay, he might come to him. Loath to venture himself, he, by means of the Interpreter, got leave to fend a Messenger, who coming before Said, offer'd to fall down upon his Face by way of Respect. Said made a Sign to him to forbear, and the Saracens came about him, and held him from doing it; Of which he having asked the reafon, Said said to the Interpreter, Because both he and I are Servants of God. and it is not lawful to use Adoration and Worship to any but God, who is the proper Object of Worship. Being examin'dabout his Errand, he faid, that he came to desire Protection for Herbis and his Men; which was accordingly granted, upon Condition, that they should lay down their Arms, and furrender themselves. The Messenger ask'd, whether that Security was only from himself, or from the General too? Said told him, from all the Saracens. When Herbis heard this, he came out, and my Author tells us, that he has learnt from Persons worthy of Credit, that Herbis when he came out to furrender

render himself, put off all his Silks, Omar. and exchanging with some of his Men, Alwakidi. put on Woollen Apparel, fuiting his Habit to the Meaness of his present Condition. Said feeing him come along in this humble Mien fell down and worshipp'd God, saying, Praised be God, who was humbled their great Ones before us, and given us Dominion over their Rulers. Then he went to meet him, and bad him come nearer, and fit down by him; and asked him, whether that which he had on was his proper Habit? To which he answer'd, That he never had any Woollen on before in his Life, nor knew what it was to wear any thing but Silk. He demanding of Said, whether he had Power, or was willing to grant Security, as wellfor those in the City as those present with him? Said told him, That as for those that were with him he would grant them Security, upon two Conditions; Either that they should turn Mahometans, and so have one common Interest with them: Or, if they chose rather to continue in the Profession of their own Religion, they hould never more bear Arms against the Muslemans. But as for those in the City, they were at the General's Difpofal; P. 60

to whom if he was willing to go, he proffer'd his Service to conduct him; and if they could agree upon any Terms, well and good: If not, be should, if he desired it, have free Leave, with as many of his Men as were willing to go back with him, to return to his Monastery again? there to be besieged till God should determine the Matter between them.

Being brought into the Presence of Abu Obeidah, and taking a View of the Saracens about him, confidering at the same time what a Condition they had brought him and his Men into, he shak'd his Head, and bit his Fingers Ends for Indignation. Being ask'd what was the reason of that Behaviour? he answer'd, That he thought their Number had been much greater than he found it was, now he was come among them. Abu Obeidah bad his Interpreter tell him, That the Number of the true Believers seemed greater in the Eyes of the Idolaters than it really was; beeause the Angels belped them, as they did at the Battle of Beder, which is the Grace of God towards us; and by this means God gives us the Victory over your Country, and makes your Armies flee before us. That the Angels help'd Mahomet in Battle.

Battle, he has expresly told them in the \* Alcoran; and they believ'd and depended upon the same Assistance, and 26, 40. oftentimes attributed their Success to it: not that any of them pretended ever to have feen these Auxiliary Troops of militant Angels; it being fufficient for their Purpose to be seen by their Enemies. Herbis offer'd for the whole City of Baalbee 1000 Ounces of Gold. 2000 of Silver, and 1000 Silk Vests. Abu Obeidah told him, If they would have Peace, they must double the Sum, and add to it a Thousand Swords, and all the Arms belonging to those Men that were (but up in the Monastery, and pay Tax and Tribute the next Year, and never bear Arms for the time to come, nor write to the Emperor, nor attempt either directly or indirectly, any thing against the Saracens, nor build any Churches or Monasteries. Herbis complaining of the Severity of the Articles, as being all in Favour of the Saracens, desired that the Besieged might at least have this one Article on their fide; viz. That who foever should be appointed Lieutenant over Baalbec, should not come into the City, nor any of his Men; but pitching his Tents on the

out-side of the Walls, Should there receive

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the Tribute impos'd upon the Inhabitants. This being granted, all was agreed upon, only there wanted the Townimens Confent; who having heard of the Articles, did not approve of them, and faid, they would never furrender the strongest City in Syria into the Hands of the Saracens, upon fuch Terms: But when Herbis had remonstrated to them the Danger to which he and his Men must be expos'd, if there were not some Agreement made, and the Provision he had made for their Repose and Quiet, in excluding all the Saracens from once entering into the Town; adding withal, that he would lay down a fourth part of what was impos'd upon them himself, they at last confented. Herbis alone going into the City to raise the promis'd Sum, Abu Obeidah detain'd all the rest of his Men as Hostages, till it should be paid. twelve Days time he brought it; upon which Abu Obeidab dismiss'd the Men. and calling for Raphi Ebn Abdo'llah, left him to take Care of Baalbec with 500 Saracens, giving him a most strict Charge to do nothing but what was right and just, telling him that he had heard the Prophet say, That God had com-

commanded Moses and David the same thing. He bad him prevent all manner of Disturbance between his Men and the Inhabitants of the City, and have an Eye to the Sea-shore, and pillage all those Places in the Neighbourhood, which had not enter'd into Articles. Having left him with this Charge, he moved towards Hems; and before he came thither, the Presect of Jushiya met him with a Present, which he accepting, renew'd the Truce with him.

Raphi very punctually executed his Charge, and both he and his Men behav'd themselves so inoffensively, that the Citizens and the Saracens grew very well acquainted. The Saracens, according to their Custom, plundering all the Neighbourhood, fold what they got to the Citizens, who began to be in a fair way of growing rich with the Spoils of their Country-men and Fellow-Christians. Herbis, formerly their Governour, perceiving this, began to consider which way he might bring himself in for a share of the Gains: Wherefore, calling them together, he reprefented what Hazard he had expos'd himself to for their Preservation, whilst it was

in his Power, and what Pains he had taken to procure them those Articles of Peace, of which they now reap'd the Benefit; besides the paying down, at his own proper Expence, the fourth part of what was impos'd upon them all; adding, that he thought it nothing but reasonable, that fince they were in a Capacity, he should be reimburs'd. This was confented to without any Opposition; but he told them, that he did not defire to deprive any of them of any part of their Substance, but only they should agree to pay him the Tenth of what they fav'd in their Trading with the Arabs. They were at first very unwilling to come to this; but after Debate, confidering his Quality, as having been once their Governour, tho' now reduc'd to the fame Condition with themselves, and that when Necessity requir'd it, he had not fpar'd his own private Substance for the publick Good, they at last agreed to it. This done, he appoints a Tith-man to gather it, and in a few Days it amounted to a very confiderable Sum. The Sweetness of this Gain, instead of extinguishing, encreas'd his Thirst; whereupon in a fecond Meeting he told them, that

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it would be a long time before what he had laid out would be repaid at this Rate, and propos'd, that either they should admit him one of their Company, or elfe instead of a Tenth, pay him a Fourth Part of all their Gains. The People, vex'd to the Heart at this fqueezing, infatiable Temper, cry'd out, Away with him, and all such unreasonable Wretches, we had better be governed by the Saracens than such; for they are better, and more just; and with a great Noise and Shout rush'd upon him, and killed him. The Saracens without heard the Noise, but did not know what was the Matter; neither would Raphi go into the City contrary to the Agreement, but faid, if there was any Difference between them, and they came out to him, he would endeavour to make them Friends. Prefently after they came thronging out to him, and acquainted him with what they had done; how civil they were to their Prefect, in answering his first Demand, and how unreasonable he had been in coveting more, desiring Raphi to come into the City, and govern it himself; which he refus'd, till he had Wrote to Abu Obeidab; who fent him Word

Heg jrah 15. A. D. 635. Word, that fince the People were willing, he ought not to scruple it: Upon which he and his Men went into Baalbec, on the twentieth Day of January, in the Year of our Lord, fix hundred and thirty fix.

Leaving Baalbec, we must now march to Hems; before which Abu Obeidah having brought his Army, before any Attempt made upon it, fent to the Governour the following Letter.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerahh. Lieutenant in Syria to the Emperor of the Faithful Omar Ebn Alchitab, (whom God bless) and General of his Forces. The most mighty God has conquer'd several Places by our Hands; wherefore do not let the Greatness of your City, nor the Strength of your Buildings, nor the Plenty of your Stores, nor the Bigness of your Bodies, deceive you; For your City is no more in your Hands, when we come to war against it, than if we should set a Pot upon a Stone in the midst of our Camp, and all the Army should come round about it, to take every one of them amouthful. In the first Place therefore, I invite you to our Re-

Religion, and that Law which our Prophet Mahomet, of blessed Memory, brought us. Which if you shall receive, then shall you partake with us in all our Fortunes good and bad; and we will send you Men to instruct you in your Religion, as God has commanded us. If you refuse the Mahometan Religion, we shall continue you in your Possessions, paying Tribute. If neither of these Conditions please you, come out and fight us, till God, who is the best Judge, shall determine between us.

This being no fooner receiv'd than rejected with the utmost Scorn, both Sides prepar'd themselves, the Saracens for an Affault, the Besieged for their Defence. The Besieged sallying, made fo good a Days Work of it, that the Saracens had little Reason to boast of their Victory. There was present a great Man among the Arabs, a Person of extraordinary Sagacity and Penetration, and himself many times commanded an Army with good Conduct. and Success: He, considering well the Strength of the Place, and the Courage and Refolution of the Inhabitants, told Abu Obeidab privately, that he might fooner expect to conquer Hems by Stratagem.

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tagem, than Force of Arms, and propos'd to him to raise the Seige, if he could induce the Besieged to let him have five Day's Provision for his Men and Horses, upon that Condition: By which Means their Stock of Provision would be very much Diminish'd, and he might take a fit Opportunity of furprizing them. This Advice being approv'd, Abu Obeidah acquainted the Befieged with his Design of intermitting the Siege of Hems, and trying his Fortune at other Places, of which there still remain'd unconquer'd a great Number in Syria very well fortify'd, upon the Condition afore-mentioned. The People willing at any Rate to get rid of fuch troublesome Neighbours, considering withal those many Accidents that might prevent their ever returning thither, or at least defer it a long time, easily affented. The Governor himself being as willing as any to compound with the Saracens upon these Terms, told his People, That the Arabs were like wild Beafts, greedy of Prey; wherefore he thought it the best way to give them something to fill their Bellies, and fend them packing. Upon this he fends fome of the chief Clergy to Abu Obeidah, to make the Agreement,

greement, and take a Copy of the Articles: Which being done, the Citizens brought out their Provision, according to the Agreement. Abu Obeidah told them, that fince their intended March was likely to be tedious, he should be very glad to buy the Remainder of their Provision. The People were willing to fell, and the Mahometans bought as long as they had any thing left to buy

withal, or exchange for.

Some Spies belonging to the Emperor, being at that time in the Saracen Camp, and perceiving the Emessens set open their Gates, and bring out their Provisions, without taking time to inform themselves thoroughly of the Cause of it, went and spread a Report about the Country, that Hems was furrender'd, to the great Surprize and Discouragement of the rest, who had their Hearts daily fill'd with the increafing Terror of the Saracens. Abu Obeidah from Hems went to Arrestan, a strong Place, well water'd, and full of Soldiers; where his Summons being rejected, he desir'd the Favour of the Governour of the Castle to leave some old Lumber, which would be troublefome and cumberfome to them in their **speedy** 

Tpeedy March. This was without much Scruple granted, all being defirous of their Absence upon any Terms. Upon this he takes twenty Chests, and enclosing in them twenty chosen Men; to prevent all Suspiction, puts Locks upon the Out-fides of them, the Bottoms of the Chefts being so contriv'd, as to flip backward and forward as he within pleased. These receiv'd into the Castle, the Saracens march'd, only Caled was left with some Forces, by way of Ambuscade, to affift those in the Chefts. The Saracens gone, the Christians went to Church to give Thanks for the Departure of their Enemies, and were heard finging Pfalms by Derar, Abdo'rrhaman, and Abdo'llah in the Chefts, who taking this Opportunity, came forth, and having feiz'd the Governor's Lady, demanded the Keys of the Gates. From thence they went to the Church, where they, without Difficulty, furpriz'd the unarm'd Multitude. Then Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar, who commanded them, fent five of them with the Keys to open the Gates, and cry out Allah Acbar; which done, Caled, who was within hearing, came up, and Arrestan was taken without Opposition. This

This made the Conditions much more easy to the Inhabitants, the Sarateens not expecting such an unbloody Conquest. Wherefore, they resigning themselves without any more to do, had their Liberty granted to go where they pleas'd. Some of 'em chang'd their Religion, tho' the greater Number still retain'd their Christianity, and went to Hems.

Two Thousand Men being left in Garrison at Arrestan, Abu Obeidah moves with his Army to Shaizar. He had no fooner fent his Summons, than there arose a great Dispute about surrendring the Place: The Conquest of Arrestan, Baalbec, Damascus, Bostra, and as they suppos'd of Hems, gave them just reason to fear, that they should not be able to defend Shaizar, not superiour to those Places, either in Strength of its Situation, or Number of its Soldiers. The Governor held out obstinately, and gave them a great deal of reproachful Language, swearing, and curfing them, and commanded his Servants to strike some of them. The chief Men, provok'd at this tyrannical Usage, drew their Swords, and fell upon him and his Party. Having made

made a quick Dispatch of them, they open'd the Gates, and furrender'd to Abu Obeidah, who receiv'd 'em very gladly, and gave them hearty Thanks for faving him the Trouble of Fighting: adding, That since they had behav'd them selves so well, and express'd such a Defire of living under the Government of the Saracens, he would not dismiss them without some distinguishing Mark of his Favour. Upon which he told 'em, That he would not force any of them to change their Religion against their will, nor put them to any Extremities; but if any of them would come in of their own accord, they should pay no Tax or Custom, as other Mahometans did, for two Years. If they chose to continue in their old Religion, they should pay no Tribute for the space of one Year.

Shaizar was now taken into Possession, and Abu Obeidah reminded his Muslemans, that they were no longer under any obligation to the People of Hems, having punctually perform'd whatever they had promis'd them. The Governor of Hems was not so well satisfy'd, for as soon as the Saracen Army came to appear before the City, he sent a Messenger to expossu-

late

late with Abu Obeidab his Perfidy Omar. and Breach of Promise: Who gave him no other Answer, than that he defir'd those Clergy who had made the Agreement with him first should come to him again, and let themselves be Judges whether or no he had fulfill'd his Promise to a Tittle. Upon their coming, he ask'd them, Did not 1 make an Agreement with you, to leave Hems, till I bad conquer'd some other City of Syria? And was it not left to my Liberty after that, either to go to any other Place, or return to you? When this could not be denied, Well then, answer'd he, since we have conquer'd Arrestan and Shaizar, we are under no further Obligation to you, and there remains nothing, but that you surrender.

There being no Remedy left, nor any one whom they might justly blame but themselves, for not having taken better Care at first, they prepar'd to fight. The Inhabitants, tho' not a little dishearten'd when they reslected upon their Scarcity of Provinon, to which their unseasonable Credulity had expos'd them; encouraged by their Governour, resolv'd to try their For-

tune

tune in the Field. That Evening they went to Prayers, to implore the Divine Assistance, the Governor himself receiving the Communion at St. George's Church, (fince turn'd into a Mofque.) When he came back, he eat for his Supper a whole roafted Kid, and fat up drinking Wine all Night. Thus prepar'd for Battle, having put on very rich Cloaths, he fally'd out in the Morning at the Head of five Thousand Horse, compleatly arm'd, all Men of approv'd Courage, and resolv'd to die for the Defence of their Country. And tho' the Saracens came out against them with a much greater Number, yet they nevertheless stood their Ground, without the least Expression of Fear or Concern. The Christian Archers gall'd the Saracens terribly with poison'd Arrows, and charg'd them with fuch Courage, that they were forc'd to give way. Whil'st Caled was labouring to restore the Battle, he made a very narrow Escape; for, engaging with one of the Greeks, his Sword brokein his Hand: Upon which, clofing with his Adversary, he fqueez'd him fo close to him that he broke his Ribbs, and threw him down dead off from

from his Horse. About Noon, Mirkal Omar. and Meisarah made an Impression upon the Right Wing of the Christians, and Kais Ebn Hobeirah upon the Left. But among all the Saracens, none fignalized himfelf fo much that Day as I'krimab, Caled's Cousin: He, thirsting after the imaginary Joys of Mahomet's Fools Paradife, cry'd out aloud, Methinks I fee the black-ey'd Girls looking upon me, one of which, if the should appear inthis World, all Mankind would die for the Love of her. And I fee in the Hand of one of them an Handkerchief of green Silk, and a Cup made of precious Stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee. With these Words charging the Christians, he made Havock where he went, till observ'd at last by the Governour of Hems, he was struck through with a When Night parted them, the Saracens return'd to their Camp, having had the worst of it all that Day. Caled, affuring himself that this Success would easily induce the Greeks to believe the Saracens afraid of them, perswaded Abu Obeidah to fly before em the next Morning, to draw them into Disorder. Nor did this Advice

Omar, Alwakidi, fail of the desir'd Success; for the Greeks had beaten'em too well the Day before, to entertain the least Suspicion that their Flight was feign'd. Where. upon, pursuing them unwarily, and out of Order, they were about Noon furrounded by the returning Saracens; Who, to use my Author's own Expresfion, fell upon them like Eagles upon a Carcafe. Some of the Greeks had ventur'd to plunder the Saracens Tents; but whilst they were differently employ'd, fome in the Pursuit, others in the Spoil, the far greater part of 'em were intercepted by the Saracens; nor had any of 'em escap'd, unless reliev'd by some of the Besieged sallying from the City. The Governour fell among the rest, easily distinguish'd by his red Face, large Size, and rich Apparel, perfum'd with Musk. This Defeat determin'd the Besieg'd to surrender; but the Saracens, who having heard fo often of the Emperor's Preparation against them, expected a bloody Battle daily, had no leafure to stay and take Possession, nor any Men to spare by way of Garrison. Wherefore they took the Christians at their Word, and never a Man of them went into the

Omar.

City, till after the great Battle of Yermouk, which determin'd the Fate of Syria, and put the Saracens out of all Fear of ever meeting from the Empefor the like Opposition. The Saracens departed from Hems, having lost that Day 235 Men. The Christians burying their Dead, found 'em above one Thou-

fand fix Hundred.

HERACLIUS, weary'd with a constant and uninterrupted Succession of Messengers of ill News; which, like those of Job, came every Day treading one upon the Heels of another; griev'd at the Heart to fee the Roman Empire, once the Mistress of the World, now become the Scorn and Triumph of Barbarian Infolence; refolv'd, if possible, to put an End to the Outrages of the Saracens once for all; and, in order to it, rais'd fuch an Army out of all Parts of his Dominions, as, fince the first Invasion of the Saracens, had never appear'd in Syria before. Not much unlike one engag'd in fingle Combat, who, distrustful of his own Abilities, and fearing the worst, fummons together his whole Strength, in Hopes of ending the Dispute with one determining Stroke. Forces

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Forces were fent to all defensible Places, which this Inundation of the Saracens had as yet left untouch'd: Particularly to Cafarea, and all the Sea-Coast of Syria; as Tyre and Sidon, Accab, Joppa, Tripolis, Beirout, and Tiberias, besides another Army to defend Ferusalem. But the main Body of all. which was design'd to give Battle to the whole Forces of the Saracens, was commanded by one Maban, an Armenian, which I take to be the very same that the Greek Historians-call Manuel. When the Emperor had given the Generals his best Advice, and charg'd 'em to behave themselves like Men, and especially to take Care that there was no Differences nor Diffentions among themselves: He ask'd 'em what should be the Reason of this surprizing Success of the Arabs, inferior to the Greeks, both in Number, Strength, Arms and Discipline? After a short Silence a grave Man stood up, and told him, That the Reason was, because the Greeks had walked unworthy of their Christian Profession, and changed their Religion from what it was when Jesus Christ first delivered it to them, injuring and oppressing one another, taking Vsury, com-

committing Fornication, and fomenting Strife and Variance among themselves. And indeed the Vices of these Christians were at that time so flagrant. as to make them stink in the Nostrils of the very Infidels, † confess'd by the + 'Oute 3 & Greek Writers themselves, and aggra- This ENNANOSIvated by the Arabick ones. The Empe- TE TOV BAGI- ror answer'd, That he was too too fensi- NEWY E TOV ble of it; adding, That he had Thought's pew Tagarloof continuing with them there no longer; usins, aves no but leaving his Army to their Manage. Amanin ment, would withdraw himself to Con- τίπθων ήμᾶς flantinople. In answer to which, they Tov Ador To represented to him, how much his veral appoint Departure would reflect upon his Ho- oppa wolders nour, what a lessening it would be to τε ρωμαϊκέ Στεάτε, ή him in the Eyes of his own Subjects, Rala To Tabiand what occasion of Triumph it would sav here is afford to his Enemies the Saracens. The a Desquar Upon this they took their Leave, and aimaloxuoiprepar'd for their March: Maban, be-av, Theophan. fides a vast Army of Asiaticks and Europeans, having join'd to him Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham, King of the Christian Arabs, who had under him fixty Thoufand Men. These Mahan commanded to march always in the Front, faying, There was nothing like Diamond to cut Diamond. This great Army, rais'd for the

the Defence of Christian People, was little less insupportable than the Saracens themselves, committing all manner of Diforder and Outrage as they pass'd along, especially when they came to any of those Places which had made any Agreement with the Saracens, or furrender'd to them, they fwore and curs'd, and revil'd the Inhabitants with reproachful Language, and compell'd them by Force to bear them Company. The poor People excus'd their Submifsion to the Saracens, by their Inability to defend themselves, and told the Soldiers, that if they did not approve of what they had done, they ought themfelves to have come fooner to their Relief.

The News of this great Army having reach'd the Saracens Ears, whilst they were at Hems, fill'd them full of Apprehensions, and put them to a very great Streight which way to manage in this critical Juncture. Some of them would very willingly have shrunk back, and return'd to Arabia: In which they propos'd to themselves a double Advantage, speedy Assistance from their Friends, and the great Scarcity to which the numerous Army of

of the Enemy must needs be reduced in that barren Country; but Abu Obeidah fearing least such a Retreat might by the Caliph be interpreted Cowardice in him, durst not approve of this Advice. Others rather chose to die in the Defence of those stately Buildings, fruitful Fields, and pleasant Meadows they had won by the Sword, than retire Voluntiers to their former starving Condition; and propos'd to stay there where they were, and expect the Approach of the Enemy. Caled was not for staying there, it being too near Cafarea, where Constantine the Emperor's Son lay with 40000 Men; but propos'd to march to Termouk, where they might expect Assistance from the Caliph. As foon as Constantine heard of their Departure, he fent a chiding Letter to Mahan, and bad him mend his Pace. Maban advanc'd, but made no Haste to give the Saracens Battle, having receiv'd Orders from the Emperor to make Overtures of Peace, which were no sooner propos'd than rejected by Abu Obeidah. There pass'd several Messages between them. The Saracens endeavouring to bring their Countryman Jabalah Ebno'l Aybam, with his Chri-

Christian Arabs, to a Neutrality, were answer'd, that they were oblig'd to serve the Emperor, and refolv'd to fight. Upon this, Caled, contrary to the Advice of all, prepar'd to give him Battle first, before Mahan should come up. with a very inconfiderable Number of Men, pick'd out of the whole Army: urging, that the Christians being the Army of the Devil, had no Advantage by their Numbers against the Saracens, the Army of God. It was observ'd, that Caled in choosing his Men, call'd \* Those of Me- out more \* Ansers than † Mohagerins, by that Name, which occasion'd some grumbling among them, being in doubt whether it met in his Flight was because he respected them most, or from Meccah. because he had a Mind to expose them † Those that to the greatest Danger, that he might are called Mo- favour the others: A very impertinent hagerins; and Scruple, in my Opinion, fince he was the Inhabitants to go with them himself. Caled told of Meccah and them, that he had chosen them without any fuch Regard, only because they guish'd, as has were Persons he could depend upon, whose Valour he had prov'd, and who in the beginning had the Faith rooted in their Hearts. One Cathib happening to be call'd after his Brother Sahal, looking upon himfelf to be the better Man, resented it

because they belp'd Maho-

fled with him by these Names Medinah are often distinbeen observ'd

as an high Affront, and abus'd Caled, who gave him very gentle modest Anfwers, to the great Satisfaction of all, especially Abu Obeidab, who, after a thort Contention, made them thake Hands. Caled indeed was admirable for this, that he knew no less how to govern his Passions, than command an Army; the latter of which proves to most great Generals the easier Task of the two. His Success in this very hazardous Undertaking was beyond all Expectation, for he put Jabalah's Arabs into Diforder, and kill'da great many, losing very few of his own upon the Spot, and five Prisoners, three of which were Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan, Raphi Ebn Omeirah, and Derar Ebno'l Azwar; all Men of great Note, and frequently mention'd before. Abu Obeidah sent Abdo'llab Ebn Kort with an Express to Omar, acquainting him with their whole Circumstances, begging his Prayers, and some fresh Recruits of \* UNITA-RIANS, a Title they glory in, reckoning themselves the only Asserters of the Unity of the Deity. Omar and the whole Court were extremely furpriz'd, but comforted themselves with the Promises made to them in the Alcoran, which

\* Arab. Mowahhidîna.

which feem'd now to be all they had left to turst to. To encourage the Peo ple, he went into the Pulpit, and shew' them the Excellency of fighting for the Caufe of God, and return'd an Answer to Abu Obeidah, full of fuch spiritua Consolation as the Alcoran could afford. Omar commanded Abdo'llab, that affoon as e'er he came near the Camp, before he deliver'd the Letter, he should cry out, Good News, to comfort the Muslemans, and ease them in some measure of those perplexing Apprehensions they labour'd under. He having received his Letter and Message, together with Omar's Bleffing, fet forwards on his Journey towards the Army; but recollecting himfelf, he remember'd that he had forgot to pay his Respects at Mahomet's Tomb, which whether or no he should ever see again, was very uncertain: Upon which he hastens to Ayesha's House, (the Place where Mahomet was buried) and finds her fitting by the Tomb, with Aliand Abbas, and Halan and Hofein, (Ali's Sons) one upon Ali's Lap, the other upon Abbas's. was reading the Chapter of Beafts, being the fixth of the Alcoran; and Abbas the Chapter of Hud, which is the eleventh.

venth. Abdo'llab having paid his Re- Omar. spects to Mahomet, Aliask'd him, whe- Alwakidi. ther he did not think of going! He answer'd, Yes; but he fear'd he should not get to the Army before the Battle, which he willingly would do, if postible. If you desired a speedy Journey, (answered Ali) why did not you ask Omar to pray for you? Don't you know, that the Prayers of Omar will not be turn'd back; Because the Apostle of God faid of him, " If there were a Prophet to "be expected after me, it would be O-"mar, whose Judgment agrees with " the Book of God. The Prophet faid of him besides, " If any [universal] Ca-" lamity were to descend from Hea-" ven upon Mankind, Omar would e-" scape from it. Wherefore if Omar. pray'd for thee, thou shalt not stay long for an Answer from God. Abdo'llab told him, That he hadnot spoken one Word in Praise of Omar, but what he was very sensible of before, only he defir'd to have bis Prayers and those of the rest of the Muslemans added too, especially being at the Tomb of the Prophet. All that were prefent lifting up their Hands to Heaven, Alisaid, O God! I befeech thee, for the sake of this chosen Apostle (in whose Name Adam



Omar Alwáleidi. dam pray'd and thou answeredst his Petition, and forgavest his Sins) that thou wouldst grant to Abdo'llah Ebn Kort a safe and speedy Return, and assist the Followers of thy Prophet with thy Help, O thou who alone art great and munificent! Immediately he set forth, and return'd to the Camp with such incredible speed, that the Saracens there were surprized. But their Admiration ceased, when he inform'd then of Omar's Blessing, and Ali's Prayers at Mahomet's Tomb.

Recruits were instantly rais'd fend out of Arabia to the Army. Said Ebn Amir commanded them. having receiv'd a Flag of red Silk at the Hands of Omar, who told him that he gave him that Commission in hopes of his behaving himself well in it; advising him, among other things, not to follow his Appetites; not forgetting to put him in hopes of further Encouragement, if he should deserve Said thank'd him for his Advice; adding, that if he follow'd it, he should be fav'd. And now (fays Said) as you have advised me, so let me advise you Speak on, fays Omar. I bid you then, (added the other) fear God more than Men, and not the contrary; and love all the Mulle-

Muslemans as your felf and your Family, as well those at a Distance, as those near to you. And command that which is Praiseworthy, and forbid that which is otherwife. Omar, all the while he spoke, stood looking stedfastly upon the Ground, leaning his Forehead upon his Staff. Then he lift up his Head, and the Tears ran down his Cheeks, and he faid, Who is able to do this without the Divine Affistance. Ali bad Said make good use of the Caliph's Advice, and dismiss'd him. Said marching towards the Army, lost his Way, unfortunaetly for the Christians; for by that means he happen'd upon the Prefect of Amman with five thousand Men. Said cut all the Foot to Pieces; the Prefect flying with the Horfe, was intercepted by a Party fent out from the Saracen Camp to forage. Said at first thought they had fallen together by the Earsamong themselves, but when he came up, and heard the Techin, he was well Zobeir thrust the Perfect fatisfy'd. through with a Lance; of the rest never a Man escap'd. The Saracens cut off all their Heads, then flay'd them, and fo carried 'em upon the Points of their Lances, presenting a most horri-R 2

ble Spectacle to all that part of the Country, till they came to the Army, which receiv'd new Courage, by the Accession of this Recruit sent from the Caliph, consisting of eight thousand Men.

However their Satisfaction was very much allay'd by the Loss of those five Prisoners, which Jabalah Ebno'l Aybam had taken. It fortun'd that Mahan desir'd Abu Obeidah to send some body to him to discourse with; which being granted, Caled proffer'd his Service, and by Abu Obeidah's Advice took along with him an hundred chosen Men, of the best Soldiers in the Army. Being met by the Out-Guards, the Chief of which was Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham, and Examin'd, they were order'd to stay there till the General's Pleafure should be known. Mahan would have had Caled come to him alone. and leave his Men behind him: Which he refusing, they were commanded, when they came near, to alight from their Horses, and deliver their Swords: to which when they would not fubmit, they were at last permitted to enter as they pleas'd. They found Maban fitting upon a Throne, and there were

Alwakidi,

were Seats prepar'd for them. But Omar, they refus'd to fit on them, and removing them, fat down upon the Ground. Mahan ask'd them the Reason of their doing fo, and tax'd them with want of Breeding. To which Caledanswer'd, That that was the best Breeding which was from God, and what God has prepared for us to sit down upon, is purer than your Tapestries; defending their Practice from a Sentence of their Prophet Mahomet, back'd with this Text of the \*Alcoran, Alcoran, \* Out of it, (meaning the Chap. XX. 57. Earth) we have created you, and to it we shall return you, and out of it we shall bring you another time. Mahan began then to expostulate with Caled, concerning their coming into Syria, and all those Hostilities which they had committed there; but the Account is too tedious to be inserted, especially since I have before given an Account of fome Conferences much of the same Nature. Only this may be observed, that Mahan feem'd fatisfy'd with Caled's way of talking, and faid, that he had before that time entertain'd a quite different Opinion of the Arabs, having been inform'd that they were a foolish ignorant People. Caled confess'd, that that

that was the Condition of most of them. till God sent their Prophet Mahomet to lead 'em into the right Way, and teach them to distinguish Good from Evil. and Truth from Error. Sometimes they argu'd very coolly, and then again flew into a violent Passion, till at last Caled told Mahan, that he should one Day fee him led with a Rope about his Neck to Omar, to be beheaded. Mahantold him, that the receiv'd Law of all Nations fecur'd Ambassadors from Violence, which he fuppos'd had encourag'd him to take that indecent Freedom; however, he was refolv'd to chastize his Insolence in the Persons of his Friends the five Prisoners, who should instantly be beheaded. Caled bad him attend, and fwore by God, by Mahomet, and the holy Temple of Meccab, that if he kill'd 'em, he should die by his Hands, and every Saracen present should kill his Man, let the Confequences be what they would; and immediately rose from his Place, and drew his Sword. The like did all the rest of the Saracens. But when Mahan told him, that he would not meddle with him for the aforesaid Reafon, they freath'd their Swords, and talk'd

talk'd calmly again; after which Mahân made Caled a Present of the Prisoners, and desir'd him to give him his Scarlet Tent, which Caled had brought with him, and pitch'd hard by. Caled freely gave it him, and resus'd to take any thing, (tho' Mahân gave him his Choice of whatever he lik'd best) thinking his Kindness abundantly recompens'd in the restoring the Prisoners.

Both fides now prepar'd for that Fight which was to determine the Fate of Syria. The Particulars are too tedious to be related, for they continu'd Fighting feveral Days. Abu Obeidah refign'd the whole Command of the Army to Caled, standing himself in the Rear, under the yellow Flag which Abubeker had given him at his first fetting forth into Syria; being the same which Mahomet himself had fought under at the Battle of Chaibar. That was judg'd by Caled the properest Place for him, not only because he was no extraordinary Soldier, but that the Reverence of him might prevent the Flight of the Saracens, who were now like to be as hard put to it, as at any time fince they first bore Arms. For R 4

the same Reason the Women were placed in the Rear. The Greeks charg'd so courageously, and with such vast Numbers, that the Right Wing of the Saracen Horse was quite born down, and broken off from the main Body of the Army. But no fooner did they turn their Backs, but they were fo warmly receiv'd by the Women, who us'd them so ill, and loaded 'em with such Plenty of Reproaches, that they were glad to return every Man to his Post, and chose rather to face the Enemy, than endure the Storm. However they had much ado to bear up, and were press'd so hard by the Greeks, that they were fometimes oblig'd to forget what their Generals had faid a little before the Fight, who told 'em, That Paradise was before them, and the Devil and Hell-fire behind them. Abu Sophyan, who had us'd that very Expression himself, was forc'd to retreat, and receiv'd from one of the Women an hearty Blow over the Face with a Tent-pole for his Pains Night at last parted 'em, about such time as the Victory began to encline to the Saracens, who had been thrice beaten back, and as often restor'd by the Wo-

Women. Then Abu Obeidab faid at once those Prayers which belong'd to two feveral Hours; I suppose because his Men should have the more time to rest, which he was very tender of: walking about the Camp, looking after the wounded Men, and oftentimes binding up their Wounds with his own Hands; telling them, That their Enemies fuffer'd the same Pain which they did, but had not that Reward to expect

from God which they had.

Among other fingle Combats, of which there were feveral fought between the two Armies; it chanc'd that Serjabil Ebn Shahbnah was engaged with an Officer of the Christians, who was much too strong for him. The Reason our Author assigns, is, because Serjabil was wholly given up to Watching and Fasting. Derar thought he ought not to stand still and see the Prophet's Secretary kill'd; and took his Dagger, whilst the Combatants were over Head and Ears in Duft, and coming behind the Christian, stabb'd him to the Heart. The Saracens gave Derar Thanks for his Service; but he faid that he would receive no Thanks but from God. Upon this there arose

a Difference between Serjabil and Derar concerning the Spoil of this Officer. Derar claim'd it, as being the Perfon that killed him. Serjabil, as having engag'd him, and tird him out first. The Matter being referr'd to Abu Obeidah, he propos'd the Cafe to the Caliph, concealing the Names of the Perfons concern'd; who fent him Word, that the Spoil of any Enemy was due to him that kill'd him: Upon which Abu Obeidah took it from Serjabil, and ad-

judged it to Derar.

Another Day, the Christian Archers did fuch Execution, that besides those Saracens which were killed, and wounded in other Parts, there were feven Hundred which loft each of them one or both their Eyes; upon which Account, the Day in which that Battle was fought is called Yaumo'ttewir, The Day of Blinding: And if any of those that loft their Eyes that Day, were afterwards ask'd by what Mischance he was blinded? He answer'd, that it was not a Mischance, but a Token of Favour from God; for they gloried as much in those Wounds they receiv'd in the Defence of their Superstition, as our Enthusiasts do in what they call Per-

Persecution, and with much the same Reason. Abdo'llah Ebn Kort, who was present in all the Wars in Syria, says, that he never faw fo hard a Battle as that which was fought on that Day at Termouk; and tho' the Generals fought most desperately, yet after all they had been beaten, if the Battle had not again been restored by the Women. Caulab, Derar's Sister, was wounded and fell down. Opheirab revenged her Quarrel, and struck off the Man's Head that did it; and asking her how she did, she answer'd, Very well with God, but a dying Woman. However, she prov'd to be mistaken, for in the Evening the was walking about as if the had ail'd nothing, and looking after the wounded Men.

The Greeks in the Night had another Calamity added to their Misfortune of losing the Victory, drawn upon them by their own inhuman Barbarity. There was at Termouk a Gentleman of a very plentiful Fortune, who had remov'd from Hems thither for the Sweetness of the Air. When Mahan's Army came thither, this Gentleman us'd to entertain the Officers, and treat them nobly. To requite him

for

for his Courtefy, whilst they were revelling at his House, they bad him bring out his Wife to them; which he refusing, they took her by Force, and abus'd her all Night; and, to add to his Affliction, they took a little Son of his, and cut his Head off. The poor Lady took her Child's Head, and carry'd it to Maban; and having given him an Account of the Outrages committed by his Officers, demanded Satisfaction. He took but little Notice of it, and put her off with a flight Answer. Upon which her Husband, resolved to take the first Opportunity of being reveng'd, went privately over to the Saracens, and acquainted them with his Defign. Returning back to the Greeks, he told them, it was now in his Power to do them fingular Service: He takes a great Number of them, and brings them to a great Water, very deep, and fordable only at one Place. Five Hundred Saracen Horse, instructed by him, come over where the Water was shallow, and attack the Greeks, but in a very little time return orderly the same way they came. The injur'd Gentleman calls out, and encourages

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he Greeks to pursue, \* who plunging into the Water confusedly, and not at, all acquainted with the Place, perish'd \* Kai sautes in great Numbers. In those Battles Ballos Felodus fought afterwards at Termouk, (which τ Ιερμόχθε were all in November, 636.) the Christi- TOTALE ENE ans had the worst, till at last Mahan's and no. Thevast Army being broken, and shatter'd oph. p. 280. to pieces, he was forc'd to fly, and leave the Saracens Masters of the Field, now quite deliver'd from those terrible Apprehensions, which the News of this great Preparation had fill'd them with at first.

A short time after Abu Obeidah wrote to the Caliph the following Letter.

In the Name of the most merciful God, &c.

This is to acquaint thee, that I encamp'd at Yermouk, and Mahan was near us, with such an Army as the Muslemans never beheld a greater; but God overthrew this Multitude, and gave us the Victory over them, out of his abundant Grace and Goodness. We kill dof them about an Hundred and Fifty Thousand, and took Forty Thousand Prisoners. Of the Muslemans were killed Four Thousand and Ihirty, to whom God has decreed the

the Honour of Martyrdom. I found some Heads cut off, not knowing whether they belong'd to the Muslemans or Christians, and I prayed over them and buried them. Mahan was afterwards kill dat Damafcus by Nomân Ebn Alkamah. There was one Abu Joaid, that belong'd to them before the Battle, that came from Hems, he drowned of them a great Number, unknown to any but God. As for those that fled into the Defarts and Mountains, we have destroy'd them all, and stopp'd all the Roads and Passages, and Godbasmadeus Masters of their Country, and Wealth, and Children. Written after the Victory from Damascus, where I stay expecting thy Orders concerning the Division of the Spoil. Fare thee well, and the Mercy and Bleffing of God be upon thee, and all the Muslemans.

Omar, in a short Letter, express'd his Satisfaction, and gave the Saracens Thanks for their Perseverance and Diligence; commanding Abu Obeidah to continue where he was till further Orders, but mention'd nothing concerning the Spoil: Upon which Abu Obeidah looking upon it as left to his own Discretion, divided it, without staying for further Orders. To an Horseman he gave

gave thrice as much as to a Footman, and made a difference besides between those Horses which were of the right Arabian Breed, (which they look'd upon to be far the best) and those that were not, allowing twice as much to the former as to the latter; with which Division they not being satisfied, Abu Obeidab told them, that the Prophet did the same after the Battle of Chaibar: which, upon Appeal made to Omar, was by him confirm'd. Zobeir had at the Battle of Termouk two Horses, which he us'd to ride by turns: He receiv'd five Lots, three for himself, and two for his Horses. If any Slaves had run away from their Masters before the Battle, and were afterwards retaken, they were restor'd to their proper Masters, who nevertheless receiv'd an equal Share of the Spoil with the rest.

The Saracens having rested a Month at Damascus, and resresh'd themselves, Abu Obeidah sent to Omar, to know whether he should go to Casarea or Jerusalem. Ali being present when Omar was deliberating, said, to Jerusalem sirst; adding, that he had heard the Prophet say as much. This City they had a great Longing after, as being

the

the Seat and Burying place of a great many of the ancient Prophets, in whom they reckon'd none to be fo much interefled as themselves. Abu Obeidab having receiv'd Orders to befrege it, fent Tezid Ebn Abi Sofyan thither first, with 5000 Men; and for five Days together fent after him confiderable Numbers of Men, under fuch Officers as he thought fit to appoint. The Ierefolymites express'd no Signs of Fear, nor would they vouchfafe fo much as to fend out a Messenger to parley, but made Preparation for a vigorous Defence, and Planted their Engines upon the Walls. Tezid at last went near the Walls, with an Interpreter, to know their Minds, and propose the usual Terms; which being rejected, the Saracens would willingly have affaulted the Besieged, had not Tezidtold them, that the General had not commanded them to make any Affault, but only to fit down before the City; and thereupon sent to Abu Obeidah, who forthwith gave them Order to fight. The next Morning the Generals faid the Morning Prayer, each at the Head of his Men; and, as it were with one Consent, it seems every one of them quoted

he

quoted this Versicle out of the Alcoran, as being very apposite and pertinent to their present Purpose, \* O People! en-\* Alcoran, ter ye into the holy Land which God hath Chap. V. 24. decreed for you; being the twenty fourth Verse of the fifth Chapter of the Alco-

decreed for you; being the twenty fourth Verse of the fifth Chapter of the Alcoran, where the Impostor introduces Moses speaking to the Children of Israel: Which Words the Saracens dexteroufly interpreted to belong no less to themfelves than to their Predecessors the Israelites. Nor have these Parts of the World been altogether destitute of such able Expositors, who, whatever they find in Scripture graciously expresfed in Favour of the People of God, apply to themselves, without Limitation or Exception: Whatever is faid of the Wicked and Ungodly, and all the Terrors and Judgments denounc'd, with a liberal Hand they bestow upon their Neighbours. After their Prayers were over, they began their Affault. The Iere folymites never flinch'd, but fent them Showers of Arrows from the Walls, and maintain'd the Fight with undaunted Courage, till the Evening. Thus they continu'd fighting ten Days, and on the eleventh. Abu Obeidab came up with the Remainder of the Army;

| Alcoran,

They use it al-

most always

to Christians;

he had not been there long, before he fent the Besieged the following Letter, which I have copied, not out of Al-

+ MSS. Arab. wakidi, but + the Author of the History Pocock, Num. of the Holy Land. 362.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerahh to the chief Commanders of the People of Alia, and the Inhabitants thereof, Il Health and Happiness to every one that Chap. XX.49 follows the right way, and believes in God and the Apostle. We require of you when they write to testify, that there is but one God, and and to the King Mahomet is his Apostle, and that there of Fez writes shall be a Day of Judgment, and God Great-Britain. Shall raise the Dead out of their Sepulchres; and when you have born Witness to this, it is unlawful for us either to shed your Blood, or meddle with your Substance or Children. If you refuse this, consent to pay Tribute, and be under us forthwith; otherwise I shallbring Men against you, who love Death better than you do the drinking of Wine, or eating Hogs Flesh: Nor will I ever stir from you, if it please God, till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made Slaves of your Children. The

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The eating \* Swines Flesh, and drinking Wine, are both forbidden in the Alcoran, which occasion'd that Re- \* Alcoran, flection of Abu Obeidah upon the Pra- + Alcoran, Alcoran, ctice of the Christians. The former Chap. V. 92.93: Prohibition is borrow'd from the Jewish Law: and as for the latter, the Reader may see more in the || Life of Ma- || Dr. Pride-The Besieged, never a whit aux's Life of Mahomet, bomet. daunted, held out four Months entire; p. 106. in all which space, there did not one Day pass without fighting; and it being Wintertime, the Saracens suffered a great deal of Hardship through the Extremity of the Weather. At last, when the Besieged had well consider'd the Obstinacy of the Saracens; who they had good Reason to believe, would never raife the Siege till they had taken the City, whatever time it took up, or cost them Pains; Sophronius the Patriarch went to the Wall, and by an Interpreter discours'd with Abu Obeidah, telling him, that Jerusa. lem was the Holy City, and whoever came into the Holy Land with any hostile Intent, would render himself obnoxious to the Divine Displeasure. To which Abu Obeidah answer'd, We know that it is a noble City, and that our Prophet 5 2

Omar. Alwakidi. \* Alcoran, Chap. XVII. 1. & LIII, 10.

phet Mahomet went from it in \* one Night to Heaven, and approached within two Bows Shot of his Lord, or nearer; and that it is the Mine of the Prophets, and their Sepulchres are in it, and we are more worthy to have it in Possession than you are; neither will we leave besieging it, till God delivers it up tous, as he has done other Places before it. I shall not here transcribe the Story of Mahomet's Journey to Heaven; the Reader may find a sufficient Account of it in the Learned Dr. Prideaux's | Life of Maho-At last the Patriarch confented met. that the City should be furrender'd upon Condition that the Inhabitants should receive the Articles of their Security and Protection from the Caliph's own Hands, and not by Proxy. And their infisting upon this, I take to have been the principal Motive of Omar's Coming, rather than believe a blind Story fabled by some Arab. Authors, of an old Prophecy kept in Jerusalem concerning Omar; in which his Name and Religion were specified, and his Perfon describ'd, and that he was the only Man that could take Ferusalem: Which, however strange it may feem, is nevertheless not so absurd and ridiculous

+ P. 53.

culous as what they tell of Sophronius's giving an Account of all this to Abu Obeidah, who thereupon sent for Omar. I rather should believe, that this idle Story of the Prophecy may be better explain'd by Theophanes, who tells us, that when the City was taken, the Patriarch faid, \* This is of a Truth the A- \* Terov is av bomination of Desolation spoken of by Da- Ewgeon Teries 19 niel the Prophet standing in the Holy Place. 27 and elas The Saracens hearing afterwards, that TO CO EAUY MA the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd them to TO product of the Patriarch had confess'd the Patriarch had co have been prophesied of, made the fore- Daving To going Story out of it. | Jelalo'ddin Af- Το Εντόπω ωρίω. Toyúti, a celebrated Arabick Author, who, HONAOTS TO among other Works, has written an Sanpusi To History of Jerusalem, confesses, that xeisianov ofthere is great Variety and Difference To The EUTE in the Accounts of the taking it: How- βείας ὁ πείever, all agree in this, that Omar was Theoph p. there. The same Jelalo'ddin agrees 184. Edit. Par. with Alwakidi, where he tells us, that | MSS. Arab. upon Abu Obeidah's writing to Omar to Huntington eome, headvis'd with his Friends. Oth-Num. 510, man, who afterwards succeeded him in the Government, disswaded him from going, that the Ierefolymites might fee themselves despis'd, and thought beneath his Notice; but Ali was of a quite different Opinion, urging that

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Omar, Alwákidi, the Muslemans had endur'd great Hardship in so long a Siege, and suffer'd much from the Extremity of the Cold; that the Presence of the Calipb would be a great Refreshment and Encouragement to them; adding, that the great Respect which the Christians had for Jerusalem, as being the Place to which they went on Pilgrimage, ought to be consider'd; that it ought not to be fuppos'd that they would eafily part with it, but foon be reinforc'd with This Advice of Ali fresh Supplies. being preferr'd to Othman's, the Calipb refolv'd upon his Journey; which according to his frugal Management, requir'd no great Expence or Equipage. When he had faid his Prayers in the Mosque, and paid his Respects at Mahomet's Tomb, he substituted Ali in his Place, and fet forwards with some Attendance; the greatest part of which, having kept him Company a little way, return'd back to Medinah. rode upon a red Camel, with a Couple of Sacks; in one of which he carried that fort of Provision, which the Arabs call Sawik, which is either Barley, Rice, or Wheat, fodden and unhusk'd; the other was full of Fruits. Before him he

he carried a very great Leather Bottle, (very necessary in those defart Countries to put Water in) behind him a large wooden Platter. Thus furnish'd and equipp'd, the Caliph travell'd, and when he came to any Place where he was to rest all Night, he never went from it till he had faid the Morning Prayer. After which, turning himfelf about to those that were with him, he faid, Praise be to God, who has strengthned us with the true Religion, and given us his Prophet, and led us out of Error, and unitedus (who were at Variance) in the Confession of the Truth, and given us the Victory over our Enemy, and the Pofsession of his Country. O ye Servants of God! Praise bim for these Abundant Favours; for God gives Increase to those that ask for it, and are desirous of those things which are with him; and fulfils his Grace upon those that are thankful. Then filling his Platter with the Sawik, he very liberally entertain'd his Fellow-Travellers, who did, without Distin-Stion, eat with him all out of the same Dish.

Whilst he was upon his Journey, there came, at one of his Stages, a Complaint before him of a Man

that had marry'd two Wives, that were Sifters both by Father and Mother; a thing which the old Arabians, fo long as they continu'd in their Idolatry, made no scruple of, as appears from that Passage in the Alcoran, where it is forbidden for the time to come, and express'd after such a manner, as makes it evident to have been no uncommon Practice among 'em. Omar was very angry, and cited him and his two Wives to make their Appearance before him forthwith. After the Fellow had they were both his confess'd that Wives, and fo nearly related, Omar ask'd him what Religion he might be of, or whether he was a Musleman? Tes, faid the Fellow. And did you not know then, faid Omar, that it was unlawful for you to have them, when God has \* Alcoran, faid, \* "Neither marry two sinters Chap. IV. 27. " any more. The Fellow swore, that \* "Neither marry two Sisters he did not know that it was unlawful, neither was it unlawful. Omar fwore. he lyed, and that he would make him part with one of 'em, or else strike his Head off. The Fellow began to grumble, and faid, That he wish'd he had never been of that Religion, for he could bave done as well wit bout it, and bad never

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been a whit the better for it since he had first profess'd it. Upon which Omar call'd him a little nearer, and gave him two Blows upon the Crown with his Stick, to teach him better Manners, and learn him to fpeak more reverently of Mahometanism; faying, O thou Enemy of God, and of thy self, dost thou rewile \*Islam; which is the Religion that \*That is the God and his Angels, and Apostles, and the they express best of the Creation have chosen? And what we call the Mahometan threaten'd him severely, if he did not Religion; and make a quick Dispatch, and take which it signifies, deof 'em he lov'd best. The Fellow was livering a Man's felt up fo fond of 'em both, that he could not to God. tell which he'd rather part with: Upon which some of Omar's Attendants cast Lots for the two Women. The Lot falling upon one of 'em three times, the Man took her, and was forc'd to difmifs the other. Omar call'd him to him, and faid Pray mind what I fay to you; if any Man makes Profession of our Religion, and then leaves it, we kill him; therefore see you do not renounce Islâm. And take beed to your felf, for if ever I hear that you lie with your Wife's Sister, which you have put away, you shall be stoned.

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Paffing on a little further, he happen'd to see some poor Tributaries, whom their hard Masters, the Saracens, were punishing for Non-payment, by fetting them in the Sun; which in that Torrid Zone is very grievous. When Omar understood the Cause of it, he ask'd the poor People what they had to fay for themselves? Who answer'd, that they were not able. Upon which he said, Let them alone, and don't compel them to more then they are able to bear; for I heard the Apostle of God fay, DO NOT afflict Men, for those who afflict Men in this World, God hall punish them in Hell-Fire at the Day of Judgment. And immediately commanded them to be let go.

Before he got to his Journey's End he was inform'd of an old Man that suffer'd a young one to go Partner with him in his Wife; so that one of 'em was to have her four and twenty Hours, and then the other, and so successively. Omar having sent for them, and upon Examination found them to be Muslemans, wonder'd at it, and asked the old Man, if he did not know that it was forbidden by the Law of God? They both swore, that they knew no such

fuch thing. Omar ask'd the old Man, what made him consent to such a beastly thing? Who answer'd, that he was in Years, and his Strength fail'd him, and he had never a Son to look after his Business, and this young Man was very serviceble to him in watering and feeding his Camels, and he had recompens'd him that way; but since it was unlawful, he promis'd that it should be so no more. Omar bad him take his Wife by the Hand, and told him, That no body had any thing to do with her but himself: And for your part, young Man (says he) if ever I hear that you come near her again, off goes your Head.

Omar, having all the Way he went, fet Things aright that were amis, and distributed Justice impartially, for which he was singularly eminent among the Saracens, came at last into the Consines of Syria, and when he drew near Jerusalem he was met by Abu Obeidab, and conducted to the Saracen Camp with abundance of Joy. He did not reach thither the same Day Abu Obeidab met him. In the Morning he said the usual Prayers, and if we may take my Author's Word for it, preach'd a good Sermon. In which, as he quoted this

Omar. Alwakidi. Alcoran, Chap. XVIII.

this Text out of the Alcoran; \*He whom God shall direct is led the right Way; but thou shalt not find a Friend to direct him aright whom God shall lead into Error. A Christian Priest that sat before him stood up, and faid, God leads no man into Error; and repeated it. Omar faid nothing to him, but bad those that stood by strike his Head off if he should say so again. The old Man understood what he faid, and held his Peace whilst Omar

proceeded in his Sermon.

Omar met with some of the Saracens richly dress'd in Silks that they had taken by way of Plunder after the Battle of Yermouk. He spoil'd all their Pride, for he caus'd them to be dragg'd along in the Dirt with their Faces downwards and their Cloaths to be rent all to Pieces. As foon as he came within fight of the City, he cry'd out, Allah Acbar: O Godgive us an easy Conquest. Pitching his Tent, which was made of Hair, he fat down in it upon the Ground. The Christians hearing that Omar was come, from whose Hands they were to receive their Articles, were desirous of seeing him. Upon which the Muslemans would have perswaded him not to expose his

Person, for fear of some treacherous Omar. Alwakidi. Defign. But Omar resolutely answer'd, in the Words of the Alcoran; \* SAT, \* Alcoran, There shall nothing befalus but what God Chap. IX, hath decreed for us; he is our Lord, and in God let all the Believers put their Truft. Afterwards, upon Parley, the Besieg'd resign'd, and because those Articles of Agreement made by Omar with the Ierefolymites are, as it were, the Pattern which the Mahometan Princes have chiefly imitated, I shall not think it improper to give the Sense of 'em in this Place, as I find it in the † Author + M. S. A. of the History of Jerusalem (or the Holy Pocock. Nu Land) which I have mention'd before.

The Articles were these; " That the

" Christians should build no new Church-

es, either in the City, or the adjacent

" Territory : Neither should they refuse

" the Muslemans Entrance into their

" Churches, either by Night or Day.

" That they should set open the Doors of

them to all Passengers and Travellers.

" If any Musleman should be upon a four-

ney, they should be oblig'd to entertain

bim gratis the space of three Days. That

" they should not teach their Children

" the Alcoran, nor talk openly of their

Religion, nor perswade any one to be of

66 it ;

## HISTORY of

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" it; neither should they hinder any of " their Relations from becoming Ma-" hometans, if they had an Inclination " to it. That they should pay Respect to the Muslemans, and rife up to them " if they had a mind to sit down. That " they should not go like the Muslemans " in their Dress; nor wear such Caps, " Shoes, nor Turbants, nor part their " Hair as they do, nor speak after the " same manner, nor be called by the same \* Arab. Kina- 66 Names us'd by the Muslemans. Neion, Cognomi-" ther should they ride upon Saddles, nor " bear any fort of Arms, nor use the " Arabick Tongue in the Inscriptions of " their Seals; nor fell any Wine. That " they should be obliged to keep to the " same fort of Habit where soever they went, and always wear Girdles upon " their Wastes. That they should set no " Crosses upon their Churches, nor show stheir Crosses nor their Books openly in the Streets of the Muslemans. That " they should not ring, but only toll their 16 Bells. Nor take any Servant that bad once belong'd to the Muslemans: " Neither should they overlook them in " their Houses. Some say, that Omar " commanded the Inhabitants of Jerusa-

" lem to have the fore Parts of their

" Heads

Heads shaven, and obliged them to omir.

ss not like the Muslemans.

Upon these Terms the Christians had Liberty of Conscience, paying such Tribute as their Masters thought fit to impose upon 'em; and Ferusalem, once the Glory of the East, was forc'd to fubmit to a heavier Yoke than ever it had born before. For though the Number of the Slain, and the Calamities of the Besieged were greater when it was taken by the Romans; yet the Servitude of those that furviv'd was nothing comparable to this, either in respect of the Circumstances or Duration. however it might feem to be utterly ruin'd and destroy'd by Titus, yet was it very much recover'd by Adrian's Time. Now, it fell as it were, once for all, into the Hands of the most mortal Enemies of the Christian Religion, in which it has continu'd ever fince; excepting only that Interval of near ninety Years, in which it was posfess'd by the Christians in the Holy War.

\* The Christians having submitted \* Elmakin, to the Terms, Omar gave them the fol-Eutychius. lowing Writing under his Hand.

In

-Omar.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Omar Ebno'l Alchitab to the Inhabitants of Ælia. They shall be proteted and secured both in their Lives and Fortunes, and their Churches shall neither be pull'd down nor made use of by any but themselves.

Tear of the Hegjrah 16. A. D. 637.

.. Immediately upon this the Gates were open'd, and the Caliph and those that were with him went in. The Patriarch kept them Company, and the Caliph talk'd with him familiarly, and ask'd him Questions concerning the Antiquities of the Place. Among other Places which they visited, they went into the Temple of the Resurrection, and Omar fat down in the midst of it. When the time of Prayers was come (the Mahometans have five fet Times of Prayer in a Day) Omar told the Patriarch, that he had a mind to pray, and desir'd him to shew him a Place where he might perform his Devotion. triarch bad him pray where he was; but he altogether refus'd it. Then he brought him out from thence, and went with him into Constantine's Church, and laid

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laid a Matt for him; but he would not pray there. At last he went alone to the Steps which were at the East Gate of St. Constantine's Church, and kneel'd by himself upon one of 'em. Having ended his Prayers, he fat down, and ask'd the Patriarch if he knew why he had refus'd to pray in the Church? The Patriarch confess'd that he could not tell what should be the Reason of it. Why then (fays Omar) I'll tell you. Tou know I promis'd you that none of your Churches should be taken away from you, but that you should poffess them quietly your selves. Now if I had pray'd in any one of these Churches, I should no sooner have been gone from hence, but the Muslemans would infallibly have taken it away from you. And notwithstanding all you could have alledg'd, they would have faid, this is the Place where Omar pray'd, and we will pray here too. And so you would have been turned out of your Church, contrary both to my Intention and your Expectation. But because my praying so much as upon the Steps may perhaps give some Occasion to the Muslemans to give you some Disturbance; Ishalltake what Care I can to prevent that. So he call'd for Pen, Ink and Paper, and wrote expresly, That none

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none of the Muslemans should pray upon the Steps in any Multitudes, but one by one. That they should never meet there to go to Prayers. And that the Muezzin, or Crier, that calls the People to Prayers (for the Mahometans never use Bells) This Paper he should not stand there. gave to the Patriarch for a Security, lest his praying upon the Steps of the Church should have fet fuch an Example to the Muslemans as might occasion any Inconvenience to the Christians. A noble Instance of fingular Fidelity and religious Observation of Promise. This Caliph did not think it enough to perform what he engag'd himself, but us'd all possible Diligence to oblige others to do fo too. And when the unwary Patriarch had defir'd him to pray in the Church, not well confidering what might be the Confequence; the Caliph well knowing how apt Men are to be superstitious in the Imitation of their Princes and great Men, especially fuch as they look upon to be Succeffors of a Prophet, made the best Provision he could, that nothing which might be pretended to be done in Imitation of him, might any way infringe the Security he had already given. There

\* There goes a Story, that the Caliph desir'd the Patriarch to assign him \*Emakin, a Place where he might build a Mosque Golius his for the Celebration of the Mahometan Notes upon Service; and that the Patriarch shew'd p. 137. him the Place where Jacob's Stone lay, which he flept upon when he faw the † Vision. It feems the Stone was quite + Genesis 28; cover'd with Dirt, and the Calipbiook up as much as he could of it in his Vest. and remov'd it. The Muslemans perceiving what the Caliph did, very readily affifted him; fome filling their Buck- Theoph. p. lers, fome their Vests, others Baskets; 281. His that in a short time they had remov'd Words are all the Rubbish and Dirt, and clear'd here, 'Esoch' all the Rubbish and Dirt, and clear'd here's Young. the Stone II. Omar leaving the Churches P. eis The to the Christians, built a new Temple in αγίαν πόλιν the Place where Solomon's formerly naunhor instood, and confecrated it to the Mahome Suparing hutan Superstition. From thence he went ρυπωμένοις, to Bethlebem, and going into the Church υπόκεισίν το pray'd there; and when he had done, σατανικήν he gave the Patriarch, under his Hand, vo, + vadv the same Security for the Church, as Le Salar 1he had done before at Jerusalem, strict- Sar, or anoly forbidding any of the Mahometans to Sounds Eoacpray there, unless one single Person at Therov autor a time; and that no Muezzin should e. Toingai f aiver call the People to Prayers there. The Chargn-But

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Omar.

But notwithstanding all the Caliph's Precaution, the Saracens afterwards seiz'd the Church for their own Use; and so they did at St. Constantine's Church at Jerusalem; for they took half the Porch where those Steps were which Omar had pray'd upon, and built a Mosque there, in which they included those Steps: And had Omar said his Prayers in the Body of the Church, they would without all

question having taken that too.

\*This same Year in which Ferusalem was taken, Saëd Ebn Abi Wakkas, one of Omar's Captains, was making Havock in the Territories of Persia. He went to Madayen, formerly the Treafury and Magazine of Cofroes, King of Persia; where they found Money and rich Furniture of all forts, inestimable. Elmakin fays, that they took there no less than 3000000000 Ducats, besides Cofroës's Crown and Wardrobe, which was exceeding rich, his Cloaths being all adorned with Gold and Jewels of great Value. Then they open'd the Roof of Cofroës his Porch, where they found another very consi-They plunder'd his Arderable Sum. mory, well flor'd with all forts of Weapons. Among other things they brought

brought to Omar a piece of Silk Hanging, fixty Cubits square, all curiously wrought with Needlework. That it was of great Value, appears from the Price which Ali had for that Part of it which sell to his Share when Omar divided it; which tho' it was none of the best of it, yielded him 20000 Pieces of Silver. After this, in the same Year, the Persians were defeated by the Saracens in a great Battle near Jaloulah. Tazdejerd perceiving Things grow every Day worse and worse, retir'd to Ferganah, a City of Persia.

We must now proceed with the Conquest of Syria. Omar having taken 7erusalem, continu'd there about ten Days, to put things in Order. Here my Author tells us a Story of one Caab, a Jew, who came to him to be proselyted, and told him, that his Father, who was thoroughly skill'd in the Law of Moles, had told him concerning Mahomet's being the Seal of the Prophets, and that after him all Inspiration was to cease. Among other Things, Caab asked him what was faid concerning the Mahometan Religion in the Alcoran. mar quoted fuch Texts out of it as were fuited to his Palate, as having been brought up a few; namely,

Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwakidi. (a) Alcoran, (b) III. 96. (e) III. 60.

ly, (a) Abraham commanded bis Sous concerning it; and so did Jacob; saying, O Children! God has made Choice of a Re-Chap. II. 126. ligion for you; (b) wherefore do not die before you be Muslemans. Again, (c) Abraham was neither a Jew nor Christian, but areligious Musleman, and was not of the Number of those who join Partners

(4) III. 78. I with God. And then, (d) He that Shall defire any other Religion but Islam, it shall

not be accepted of him. Again, (e) Will (e) III. 77. they desire any other than God's Religion, to whom every thing in Heaven and Earth

(f) Arab. Af- (f) Submits it felf? And then, (g) The (8) XXII. 77. Religion of Abraham your Father: He

gave you the Name of Muslemans. Rabbi, convinc'd with fo many pregnant Texts, that the Mahometan Religion was no other than that of Abraham and the Patriarchs, repeated instantly, La Ilaha, &c. There is but one God, and Mahomet is his Apostle. Omar was very well pleas'd with his new Profelyte, and invited him to go along with him to Medinab, to visit the Prophet's Tomb; to which he confented. I have inserted this Story in the Place where I found it in my Author, because I would not willingly omit any thing that might any way contribute to the illu-

## the SARACENS.

267 Omar. Alwákidí.

illustrating the Manners or Religion of that People concerning whom I write: Notwithstanding which, I have a strong Suspicion that this is the very same Caab who was profelyted in Mahomet's Time, above ten Years before Omar took Ferusalem, and concerning whom the Reader may fee a larger Account in the \* Life of Mahomet. For our Authors are not always fo very accurate; especially those who write the Histories of the Beginnings of the Saracenical Empire.

Now Omar thought of returning to Medinah, having first dispos'd his Affairs after the following manner. Syria he divided into two Parts: and committed all that lies between Hauran and Aleppo to Abu Obeidab, with Orders to make War upon it till he conquer'd it. Tezid Ebn Abi Sofyan took the Charge of all Palestine and the Sea-shore. Amrou Ebno'l Aas was fent to invade Ægypt, no inconsiderable Part of the Emperor's Dominions, which now moulder'd away continually. The Saracens at Medinab had almost given Omar over; and began to conclude that he would never stir from Jerusalem, considering the Richness of the Country, and the Sweet-

Sweetness of the Air; but especially it being the Country of the Prophets, and the Holy Land, and the Place where we must all be summoned together at the Resurrection. At last he came, fo much the more welcome, by how much he was the less expected. Abu Obeidab in the mean time received Kinnifrin and Albadir; the Inhabitants paying down 5000 Ounces of Gold, and as many of Silver, 2000 Suits of Cloaths of several Sorts of Silk, and 500 Asses Loads of Figgs and Olives. Yezid march'd against Cafarea in vain, that Place being too well fortify'd to be taken by his little Army, especially fince it had been reinforc'd by the Emperor, who had fent Store of all Sorts of Provision by Sea, and a Recruit of 2000 Men. The Inhabitans of Aleppo were much concern'd at the Loss of Kinnisrin and Albadir, knowing very well that it would not be long before it would come to their turn, to experience themselves what they had known till then only by Report. They had two Governours, Brothers, who dwelt in the Castle, (the strongest in all Syria) which was not then encompass'd by the Town, but stood out at a little Di**itance** 

stance by it felf. The Name of one of these Brethren, if my Author mistakes nor, was Youkinna; the other John. Their Father held of the Emperor Heraclius all the Territory between Aleppo and Euphrates, after whose Decease his Son Youkinna manag'd the Affairs : John not troubling himself with secular Employments, did not meddle with the Government, but led a Monkish Life; spending his Time in Retirement, Reading, and Deeds of Charity. He would have perswaded his Brother to have fecur'd himfelf, by compounding with the Arabs for a good round Sum of Money; who told him, that he talk'd like a Monk, and did not understand what belong'd to a Soldier. That he had Wealth and Warlike Preparation enough, and was refolv'd to make the best Opposition he could. Accordingly the next Day he call'd his Men together, among which there were feveral Christian Arabs, and having arm'd 'em, and for their Encouragement distributed some Money among'em, told them, that he was fully purposed to act offensively, and give the Saracens Battle, if possible, before they should come too near Aleppo. That the Saracen

Army was weaken'd by their Divifion, fome of them being gone to Casarea, others to Damascus, and some into Egypt. Thus encouraging his Men, he march'd forwards with 12000. Abu Obeidab had fent before him Caab Ebn Damarah with 1000 Men, but with express Orders not to fight till he had receiv'd Information of the Strength of the Enemy. Toukinna's Spies found Caab and his Men resting themselves, and watering their Horses, secure, and free from Apprehensions of Danger ; Upon which he lays an Ambuscade, and falls upon them with the rest of his Men. There was a sharp Engagement, in which the Saracens had the better of it at first; but the Ambuscade breaking in upon them, they were in great Danger, of being overpower'd with Multitude; 170 of them were kill'd upon the Spot, and most of the rest grievously wounded, that they were upon the very Brink of Despair, and cry'd out, Ta Mahommed! Ta Mahommed! O Mahomet! O Mahomet! However, with much ado they made Shift to hold up till Night parted them, earneftly expecting the Coming of Abu Obeidab. In

In the mean time, whilst Toukinna was gone out with his Forces to engage the Saracens, the wealthy and trading People of Aleppo, knowing very well how hard it would go with them if they should stand it out obstinately to the last, and be taken by Storm, upon Debate, resolv'd to go and article with Abu Obeidab, that, let Youkinna's Success be what it would, they might be fecure. Thirty of the chief of them went to him, being then at Kinnisrin, and just upon his March; and as foon as they came near, cry'd out, Legoun, Legoun. Abu Obeidah understood that it meant Quarter, and had formerly written to the Captains in Syria, that if any of them heard any Man use that Word, they should not be hasty to kill him, otherwise they must answer it at the Day of Judgment, and the Caliph would be clear. They were brought before Abu Obeidah, and perceiving that there were Fires in the Camp, and fome were faying their Prayers, others reading the Akoran, and all very eafy and fecure, one of them faid, They have most certainly gotten the Victory. An Interpreter that stood by told Abu Obeidab, who till then knew nothing of the Battle.

tle. Upon Examination they told him. that they were Merchants, and the chief Traders of Aleppo, and were come to make Articles for themselves: that Youkinna was a Tyrant; that he march'd out against the Saracens Yesterday. Abu Obeidab hearing this, gave Caab Ebn Damarah over for loft, which made him at first the more unwilling to article with the Aleppians; but upon their earnest and repeated Intreaty, and being always naturally enclin'd to Compassion, and withal considering that these Persons (for there were several belonging to the neighbouring Villages that had join'd themselves with them) might be ferviceable in helping the Army to Provision and Provender, he cry'd out, "God loves those that are ex-Chap, II. 190, clin'd to do good; and turning himfelf to the Saracens, he represented the Advantages which might accure to them, by receiving these People into their Protection: But one that was present told him, that the Town was very near the Castle, and he did not believe they were in earnest, or ought to be trusted; for fays he, they come to impose upon us, and no question but they have trapann'd Caab. To whom Abu

Alcoran, III. 129. 141g V. 16.

Abu Obeidah answer'd, Entertain, Man, a better Opinion of God, who will not deceive us, nor give them the Dominion over us. Then he propos'd to them the same Conditions which they of Kinnifrin and Hader had agreed to; but they desir'd to be excus'd, alledging, that through theOppression and Tyrannyof Toukinna, their City of Aleppo was nothing near fo well peopled, nor half fo rich as Kinnisrin; but if he pleas'd to accept of half fo much, they would endeavour to raise it: Which was accepted, upon Condition, that they should take Care to furnish the Camp with all things neceffary, and give all possible Intelligence that might be of any Use to the Muslemans, and also hinder Youkinna from returning into the Castle. They undertook all but the last Article, which they faid was altogether out of their Power. Then he fwore them every one, (fuch an Oath as they had been us'd to) and bad them take care how they broke it, for if they did, there would be no Quarter. When they were going away, he proffer'd them Guards to see them fafe home; but they told him, they would, if he pleas'd, fave him that Trouble, fince they could go home the fame

fame way they came, without any fear of Youkinna.

As they were going back, they chanc'd to meet with one of Youkinna's Officers, who enquiring what News? They gave him an Account of the whole Transaction. Upon this he goes with all possible speed to his Master: who was with Impatience expecting the Morning, that he might dispatch Caab and his Men, whom the coming of the Night had preferv'd: But hearing this News, he began to fear left there should be any Attempt made upon the Castle, and thought it safest to make the best of his way homeward. In the Morning the Saracens were furpriz'd to fee no Enemy, and wonder'd what was the matter with them. Caab would have purfu'd them, but none of his Men had any Inclination to go with him; fo they rested themselves, and in a little time Caled and Abu Obeidah came up with the rest of the Army. Then they went about burying their Martyrs, as they call them, and put them into the Ground all bloody as they were, with their Cloaths, Arms, and all together. Abu Obeidah said, that he had heard the Apostle of God say, that The

The Martyrs and those who are killed in the Service of God, shall be raised at the Day of Judgment with their Blood upon their Throats, which shall have the Colour of Blood, and the Smell of Musk, and they shall be led directly into Paradise, without being call d to an Account.

Asson as they were buried, Abu Obeidah reminded Caled of the Obligation they were under to protect the Aleppians, now their Confederates, who were likely to be expos'd to the utmost Outrage and Cruelty of Youkinna, who, in all probability, would feverely refent their Defertion. They march'd as fast as they could, and when they drew near Aleppo, found that they were not at all deceiv'd in what they fear'd. Toukinna had drawn up his Soldiers with a Defign to fall upon the Townsmen, and threatened them with Prefent Death, unless they would break their Covenant with the Arabs, and go out with him to fight them, and bring out to him the Person that was the first Contriver and Proposer of it. At last he fell upon them in good earnest, and kill'd about 300 of them. Brother John, who was in the Castle, hearing a piteous Outcry and Lamentation.

tation, came down from the Castle. and intreated his Brother to spare the People, representing to him, that Jesus Christ had commanded us not to contend with our Enemies, much less with those of our own Religion. Youkinna told him, that they had agreed with the Arabs, and affisted 'em. Which John excus'd, telling him, That what they did was only for their own Security, because they were no fighting Men. fliort, he took their part fo long, till he provok'd his Brother to that degree, that he charg'd him with being the chief Contriver and Manager of the whole business; and at last, in a great Passion, cut his Head off: But our Author fays, that he first made Profession of the Mahometan Religion, and went forthwith to Paradife. But very likely the Reason of his saying so, is, because he was a fober Man, and of a good Character, and he grudg'd that any fuch should die a Christian, and therefore made a Mahometan of him, envying the Christians the Credit of having a good Man among 'em. Whilst he was murdering the unhappy Aleppians, Caled, (better late than never) came to their Relief. Which Toukinna

na perceiving, retir'd with a considerable Number of Soldiers into the Castle. The Saracens kill'd that Day 3000 of his Men: However he prepar'd for a Siege, and planted Engines upon the Castle-Walls. The Aleppians brought out 40 Prisoners, and deliver'd 'em to Abu Obeidah, who bad his Interpreter ask 'em, why they had made Prisoners of them? They answer'd, Because they belong'd to Youkinna, and having fled to them, they durft not conceal them, not being included in the Articles. Abu Obeidah commended their Fidelity, and told em, They should find the Benefit of it; and for their further Encouragement, added, That what Plunder soever they got from any of the Christians should be their own, as a Reward of their good Service. Seven of these Prisoners turn'd Mahometans: the rest were beheaded.

Abu Obeidab next, in a Council of War, deliberates what Measures were most proper to be taken. Some were of Opinion, that it would be the best way to besiege the Castle with some part of the Army, and let the rest be sent out to forage. Caled would not hear of it, but was for having the Castle

attack'd with their whole Force at once; that, if possible, it might be taken before fresh Supplies should come from the Grecian Emperor. This concluded upon, they made a most vigo-rous Assault, and had as hard a Battle as any in all the Wars of Syria. The Besieged made a noble Desence, and threw Stones from the Walls in fuch Plenty, that a great many of the Saracens were kill'd, and a great many more maim'd. Toukinna, encouraged with his Success, design'd to act offenfively, and take all Advantages. The Saracens look'd upon all the Country as their own, and knowing that there was no Army of the Enemy near 'em, nor fearing any thing from the Besieged, kept Guard negligently. Toukinna, in the dead of the Night, fent out a Party, who, as foon as the Fires were out in the Camp, fell upon the Saracens, and having killed about 60, carried off 50 Prisoners. Caled pursu'd and cut off about an hundred of them; the rest escap'd to the Castle with the Prisoners, who, by the Command of Toukinna, were the next Day beheaded in the fight of the Saracen Army. Toukinna upon this ventur'd once more to fend out

out another Party, having receiv'd Information from one of his Spies ( most of which were Christian Arabs ) that fome of the Muslemans were gone out to forage. They fell upon the Muslemans, kill'd 130 of 'em, and feiz'd all their Camels, Mules and Horses, which having kill'd or hamstring'd, they retir'd into the Mountains, in hopes of lying hid that Day, and returning to the Castle in the Silence of the Night. In the mean time, fome that had escap'd brought the News to Abu Obeidah, who fends Caled and Derar to pursue em. Coming to the Place where the Fight had been, they found their Men and Camels dead, and the Country People making great Lamentation, for they were afraid lest the Saracens should fuspect 'em of Treachery, and revenge the Loss of their Men upon 'em. Whereupon they fell down before Caled, and told him they were altogether innocent, and had not any way, either directly or indirectly, been instrumental in it; but that it was done by a Party of Horse that sallied from the Castle. Caled having sworn 'em; that they did not know any thing more, and taking some of em for Guides U 2

cr yes

Guides, befet the only Passage by which the Besieged could return to the Castle. When about a fourth Part of the Night was past, they perceived em coming, and falling upon em, took 300 Prisoners, and killed the rest. The Prisoners would have redeemed themselves, but they were all beheaded the next Morning before the Castle.

The Saracens laid a close Siege, but perceiving that they got no Advantage, Abu Obeidah remov'd the Camp about a Miles Distance from the Castle; hoping by this means to tempt the Besieg'd to Security and Negligence in their Watch, which might at some time afford him an Opportunity of taking the Castle by Surprize. But all would not do; for Toukinna kept a very strict Watch, and fuffer'd never a Man to stir out. Abu Obeidab thought that there might be fome Christian Spies in the Army; whereupon he and Caled walk'd about the Camp, to fee if they could pick up any suspicious Persons. Caled at last observ'd a Man sitting with a Vest before him, which he turn'd first on the one side, and then on the other. Caled stept to him, and ask'd him, what Tribe he was of? The Fellow defign'd

to have nam'd another Tribe, if he had not been furpriz'd; but having the Question put to him on a sudden, the Word flipt out of his Mouth, and he answer'd of Gassan. Sayst thou for (answer'd Caled) thou Enemy of God. thou art a Christian Arab, and a Spy, and feized him. The Fellow faid, that he was not, but a Musleman. Caled carried him to Abu Obeidah, who bad him examine him in the Alcoran, and make him fay his Prayers. But the poor Fellow had not one Word to fay for himfelf, being altogether ignorant of those Things: Upon which, without much arguing, he confess'd himself a Spy, and that he was not alone, but there were three of 'em in all, two of which were return'd to the Castle. Abu Obeidab bad him take his Choice, either of Mahometanism or Death, and he readily embrac'd the former.

The Siege continu'd four Months, and some say, sive. In the mean time Omar was very much concern'd, having heard nothing from the Camp in Syria. He writes to Abu Obeidah, to let him know how tender he was over the Muslemans, and what a great Grief it was to him to hear no News of 'em

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in so long a time, Abu Obeidah answer'd, that Kinnifrin, Hader and Aleppo were furrender'd to him, only the Castle of Aleppo held out, and that they had lost a confiderable Number of Men before it. That he had fome Thoughts of raifing the Siege, and paffing forwards into that Part of the Country which lies between Aleppo and Antioch; but only he staid for his Answer. About the time that Abu Obeidah's Messengers got to Medinah, there came out of the feveral Tribes of the Arabs a confiderable Number of Men, who proffer'd their Service to the Caliph. Omar order'd 70 Camels to help their Foot, and dispatch'd 'em into Syria, with a Letter to Abu Obeidah ; in which he acquainted him, That he was varioully affeeted, according to the different Success they had had; but charg'd them by no means to raise the Siege of the Castle, for that would make them look little, and encourage their Enemies to fall upon them on all sides. Wherefore, adds he, continue befleging it, till God shall determine the Event, and forage with your Horse round about the Country.

Among those fresh Supplies which Omar sent last to the Saracen Camp, there

there was a very remarkable Man, whose Name was Dames, of a Gigantick Size, and an admirable Soldier. When he had been in the Camp forty feven Days, and all the Force and Cunning of the Saracens could do nothing to the Castle, he desir'd Abu Obeidah to let him have the Command of thirty Men, and he would try his best. Caled had heard much of the Man, and told Abu Obeidah a long Story of a wonderful Performance of this Dames in Arabia; that he waslook'd upon as a very proper Person for such an Undertaking. Abu Obeidah bad those who were to go with him not despise their Commander, because of the Meanness of his Condition, he being a Slave; and fwore, that if the Care of the whole Army did not lye upon him, he would be the first Man that should go under him upon fuch an Enterprize. To which they answer'd with entire Submission and profound Respect. Dames desir'd Abu Obeidah to raise the Siege, and remove about a League's Distance from the Gastle. When Night came, Dames, who lay hid at no great Distance, went out feveral times, and brought in with him five or fix Greeks, but never a Man of UA.

'em understood one Word of Arabick, which made him angry, and say, God curse these Dogs! What a strange bar-

barous Language they use.

At last he went again, and there fell a Man down from the Wall; him he took, and by the Help of a Christian Arab, which he took afterwards, examin'd him; who gave him an Account, that immediately upon the Departure of the Saracens, Youkinna began to abuse the Townsmen that had agreed with the Arabs, and exact large Sums of Mony of them; that he was one of 'em, and had endeavour'd to make his Escape from the Oppression and Tyranny of Youkinnah, by leaping down from the Wall. They let him go, as being under their Protection by yirtue of the Articles made between Abu Obeidab and the Aleppians; but beheaded all the rest.

Dames then takes out of a Knapfack a Goat's Skin; with this he covers his Back and Shoulders, and takes a dry Crust in his Hand, creeping upon all Four as near to the Castle as he could; and if he heard any Noise, or suspected any Person's being near, to prevent being discover'd, he made such a Noise with

Omar.

with his Crust, as a Dog makes that's gnawing a Bone. The rest of his Com-pany came after, sometimes sculking and creeping along, at other times walking. He had fent two of his Men to Abu Obeidah, to fend him some Horse about Sun-rise. When they came to the Castle, they found it in a manner inaccessible. However Dames was refolv'd to leave nothing unattempted. Having found a Place where he thought it might be easiest getting up, he sits down upon the Ground, and orders another to fit upon his Shoulders; and fo till feven of 'em were gotten up, and fat one upon the other's Shoulders, all of 'em leaning against the Wall with all their Strength. Then he that was uppermost of all stood upright upon the Shoulders of the fecond. The fecond arose next, and so on all in Order, till at last Dames himself stood up, who bore the Weight of all the rest upon his Shoulders, unless they could relieve him, by bearing any part of their Weight against the Wall. By this time he that was uppermost could make a shift to reach the Top of the Wall. They all faid, O Apostle of God help us and deliver us! When he was

got up, he found a Watchman drunk and asleep. He seiz'd him Hand and Foot, and threw him down among the Saracens, who immediately cut him to Pieces. Two other Watchmen, whom he found in the fame Condition, he stabb'd with his Dagger, and threw down from the Wall. Then he let down his Turbant, and drew up the fecond; they two the third, till at last they drew up Dames too, who enjoin'd them Silence, till he should bring them further Information. He went and peep'd in, where he found Toukinna, richly dress'd, sitting upon a Tapeftry of Scarlet Silk flower'd with Gold, and a large Company with him eating and drinking, and very merry. He came and told his Men, that he did not think it adviseable to fall upon 'em then, because of the great Inequality of their Numbers, but had rather take the Advantage of 'em about Break of Day; at which time there was no fear but there would come fome Help from the Army. In the mean time he went alone, and privately stabbing the Porters, and setting open the Gates, came back to his Men, and bad them hasten to take Possession of the

the Gates. This was not done fo fecretly, but they were at last taken notice of, and the Castle alarm'd. There was no Hopes of escaping, but every one of 'em expected to perish. It was now towards Morning; Dames behav'd himself bravely, but overpower'd with Multitude, they were not able to hold up, when Caled came to their Relief. As foon as the Befieg'd perceiv'd the Saracens rushing in upon 'em, they threw down their Arms, and cry'd Quarter ! Abu Obeidah was not far behind with the rest of the Army. Having taken the Castle, and propos'd Mahometanism to the Christians, the first that embrac'd it was Youkinna, and some of the chief Men with him, who immediately had their Wives and Children, and all their Wealth restor'd to them. Abu Obeidab fet the old and impotent People at Liberty, and having taken out a Fifth Part of the Spoil of the Castle, (which was of great Value) divided the rest among the Muslemans. Dames was talk'd of, and admir'd by all, and Abu Obeidab paid him the Respect of making the Army continue in that place, till he and his Men were perfectly cured of their Wounds.

Having

Having taken the Castle of Aleppo, he had Thoughts of marching next to Antioch, then the Seat of the Grecian Emperor. But Toukinna, the late Governour of the Castle of Aleppo, with the changing of his Religion, being become an utter Enemy to the Christian Interest, perswaded him to defer his March to Antioch, till they had first taken the Castle of Aazaz, held by Thedorus his Cousin-German; a Place of Importance, and which, if not taken, would prove a great Nuisance to the Saracens on that fide the Country; and proffer'd his Service. The way that he propos'd, was to take with him an hundred Saracens, dress'd in the Grecian Habit, and with them to ride to Aazaz. These hundred were to be pursu'd at a little Interval by a thoufand other Saracens in their proper Habit. He faid, that he did not at all question a kind Reception at the Hands of bis Kinsman Theodorus. Whom he was to tell, That he had only feign'd himfelf a Mahometan, till be could find an Opportunity of escaping; that be was pursu'd by the Saracens, &c. If they were receiv'd, of which there was no doubt, they would in the Night fall upon the Inha-

Inhabitants; and those other, who pretended to purfue them, and should be order'd to stay at a Village call'd Morab, not far distant from Azzaz, should come to their Affistance. Abu Obeidah ask'd Caled what he thought of it, who approv'd of the Stratagem, provided they could be well affur'd of Toukinna's Sincerity in the Execution of it. Youkinna us'd a great many very earnest Expressions to satisfy them of his Integrity; and after Abu Obeidah had, in a long Discourse, set before him the Danger of being treacherous on the one hand; and on the other, the Benefits. that would accrue to him by faithfully ferving the Saracens; they refolv'd to venture him, and chose ten a Piece out of ten several Tribes of the Arabs; each ten being commanded by a Decurion, and all of them committed to Toukinna. When they were gone about a League, Abu Obeidah sent after them 1000 Men. under Malec Alashtari, with Order to lie still by way of Ambush, when they came near to Aazaz, till Night. They found the Village void of Inhabitants. which the Terror of the Saracens had scar'd further up into the Country. Whilst Malec was at that Village, he

intercepted a Christian Arab, who upon Fxamination told him, That he and his Men must look to themselves, for all their Design was discovered: That there was a Spy in the Camp, who had heard all Youkinna's Contrivance, and given the Governour of Aazaz secret Intelligence of it, by a Letter tied under the Wing of a tame Pigeon (a Practice not uncommon in these Parts.) Upon which he (meaning himself) had been sent to Lucas, Governour of Arrawendan, to desire his Affistance. That he was coming, and could not be far off with 500 Horse. Youkinna in the mean time coming to Aazaz, found the Town and Castle in a Posture of Defence, and his Cousin Theodorus, the Governour, at the Head of 3000 Greeks, and 10000 Christian Arabs, besides others that came out of the Villages. Theodorus made up to Toukinna, and alighting from his Horse, made profound Reverence, as if he would have kiss'd Toukinna's Stirrup. In the mean time, he slily cut his Girth, and with one Push threw him flat on his Face upon the Ground. Then he and all his Men were immediately taken Prisoners. Theodorus spit in his Face, and reproach'd him with

Omar.

with his apostatizing from the Christian Religion; threatning Death to all his Arabs, and to fend him to anfwer for himself before his Master the Grecian Emperor. All this while Theodorus knew nothing of Malec's being fo near; his Spy having only inform'd him of Toukinna's intended Treachery, and not one Word of Malec's feign'd The Prefect of Arrawendan came in the Night, according as he had promis'd Theodorus, with his five hundred Men, and were all intercepted by Malec, who had two to their one. Having made Prisoners of 'em, they disguis'd themselves in their Cloaths, and took the Christian Colours in their Hands. Then Malec ask'd the Spy to turn Mahometan; which he did. He had been one before, at the fame time when Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham made Profession of that Superstition; but 7abalab thinking himself affronted by Omar, and revolting, those Christian Arabs that depended upon him, went off along with him; among which Number, this Spy taken by Malec at Morah, was one. He told Malec, that he had heard that Mahomet had faid, That who foever changed his Religion should be killed.

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Malec said it was true, but God had faid Alla man taba waamana; Except be that repents and believes; adding, That the Prophet himself had accepted of Wahshy's Repentance, notwithstanding he had kill'd his Uncle Hamzah. Tharick Algassani (that was the Spy's Name) hearing this, repeated the La Ilaha, &c. and Malec faid, May God accept thy Repentance, and strengthen thy Faith. This done, he bad him go and tell the Governour of Auzāz, that the Governour of Arrawendan was coming to his Affistance; which he undertook, and, attended only by one Companion, went till he came near the Walls, where they heard a very great Noise of Shouting and Trumpets, which was occasion'd after this manner.

Theodorus, Governour of Aazaz, had a Son, whose Name was Leon; whom he used to send, now and then, for a Month or two, to be with his Uncle Youkinna at Aleppo Castle. There he fell in Love with his Uncle's Daughter, a very beautiful Lady. Returning back, he acquaints his Mother with his Passion; who, very tenderly, was willing to contribute any thing that might be a means of procuring the proper Re-

medy.

medy. His Father Theodorus had put these Prisoners, Toukinna and his hundred disguised Saracens, into Leon's Appartment. He, glad of this Opportunity of ingratiating himself with his Uncle, came and told him, that he had a Mind to release him and his Friends. Toukinna told him, that if he had any Inclination to turn Mahometan, he ought not to do it upon any Prospect of worldly Advantage. To which the young Villain, fir'd with Luft, and refolv'd upon the Match, answer'd, That his Family and Relations were dear to him; but the Faith was dearer. In short, he fet 'em all at Liberty, gave 'em their Arms, and bad 'em go in the Name of God, whilst he went and killed his Father, whom he was fure to find drunk and afleep. Immediately the Saracens, now enlarg'd, fall upon the Greeks, who made a stout Resistance. During which time the Spies went back to Malec, to acquaint him how Things stood, who rode on a-pace, and came time enough to relieve their Friends, and take the Castle They gave great Thanks to Youkinna, who had them thank God, and this young Man; meaning his Kinsman Leon, and told them

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Omar. Alwákidi. all the Story. To which Malec answer'd, When God will have a Thing done, he prepares the Causes of it. Then he ask'd, who kill'd Theodorus? Leon answer'd, My elder Brother Luke. Malec wonder'd, and ask'd him, how that came about, fince fuch a Thing was scarce ever heard of among the Greeks, that a Child should murder his own Father. Luke, it seems, told them, That it was out of Love to them, their Prophet and Religion. That they had a Priest who used to bring them up, who had told him long fince of Mahomet; and that the Saracens should most certainly conquer the Country; and that they had several Prophecies relating to it; and much to that Purpose: Wherefore he was glad of this Opportunity of becoming one of them; and bad designed to have set his Unkle Youkinna and the Prisoners at Liberty, if his Brother Leon had not prevented him. Hopeful Youths! who had prevented each other in a masterly Piece of Villany; the one in murdering his Father; the other in fetting at Liberty his most mortal Enemies, and betraying all his Friends! Malec gave him his Bleffing, and having fet Said Ebn Amer over the Castle, with that 100 Men

Men that came along with Toukinna, march'd with the Spoils to Aleppo. There were in the Castle of Aazaz, when the Muslemans took it, 1000 young Men, Greeks, 245 old Men and Monks, 1000 young Women and Girls, and 180 old Women.

Just as Malec was upon his March, the Saracens upon the Castle Wall gave fuch a Shout, as alarm'd all the reft, and gave them notice, that they faw a great Duft not far off. When they came near, it appear'd that they were only 1000 Saracens, which Abu Obeidah had fent under the Command of Alphadl Bno'l Abbas, to plunder round about Menbigz (formerly Hierapolis) and the adjacent Villages, which they had done, and brought off the Spoil. Malec and Alphadl marched together; but Toukinna having had fuch bad Succefs, could not be perfwaded to go along with them, being resolved not to appear at the Camp, nor show himself to the Army, till he had by fome fignal Service made amends for his Mifcarriage, and retriev'd his Credit; but chose rather to go to Antioch. And tho' Alphadl endeavour'd to convince him that he was in no Fault, neither ought

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to be concerned for it, and proved it by a Text of the Alcoran; yet he could not be fatisfy'd nor reconcil'd to himfelf. Among Alphadl's Men there were 200 Renegado's, who had, as well as their Mafter Toukinna, renounc'd their Christianity, and enter'd into the Service of the Saracens, and had their Families and Effects in the Castle of Aleppo: These seem'd to him to be the most proper Instruments to work withal. With these he marches towards Antioch. After the first Watch of the Night was past, he took four of his Relations, and commanded the rest to keep the direct high Road to Antioch, us'd by the Caravans, and to pretend that they fled from before the Saracens; telling them, That they should see him at Antioch, if it pleased God. He with his Friends going another way, was examin'd by some of the Emperor's Men, who no fooner understood that he was the late Governour of Aleppo, but they fent him with a Guard of Horse to Antioch. Heraclius wept at the fight of him, and told him, That he was inform'd he had chang'd his Religion. To which he answer'd, That what he had done was only in order to reserve himfelf

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felf for his Majesty's further Service : Omar. That he had taken this Opportunity of flying to him from Aazaz . That the vigerous Defence be had made at Aleppo, was a sufficient Testimony of his Zeal for his Religion and his Fidelity to his Majesty. The Emperor receiv'd the Apostate with great Tenderness and Respect, and the greatest part of the Court were inclin'd to entertain a charitable Opinion of him. Nay, fo favourably did the Emperor judge of him, that he not only made him Commander over those two hundred which belong'd to him, when they came to Antioch; but when his youngest Daughter, who was then in another Place, had fent to her Father, the Emperor, for a Guard to conduct her fafe to Antioch. Toukinna was entrusted with this Charge, and had under him for this Purpose 2200 Men. Whilst they were upon this Expedition, as he was in his Return, about Midnight, the Greek Horses prick'd up their Ears, and began to neigh, and some of his advanc'd Guards brought him Intelligence of a Party of Saracens in a very negligent Poslure, most of 'em being asleep, and their Horses feeding. Toukinna seemingly X 3

ingly encourag'd his Men; but, that he might do the Saracens what fecret Service he could, commanded 'em not to kill but take 'em Prisoners, that they might afterwards ferve to exchange for the Christians. When they came a little nearer, they found themselves mistaken; for those which they took to be Mahometans, prov'd to be 1000 Christian Arabs, under the Command of Haim, Son of Jabalah Ebno'l Ayam, who had furpriz'd Derar, and taken him Prisoner, and with him 200 Saracens, fent out by Abu Obeidah, to forage in the Northern Parts of Syria. Upon which Youkinna alights from his Horse, and pays his Respects to Haim, hypocritically congratulating his good Success. Abu Obeidah now resolv'd, purfuant to the Caliph's Command, to march without delay to Antioch. The Emperor in the mean time was acquainted with the Approach of his Daughter, and Haim's good Success, which caus'd great Rejoycing in Antioch. The Prisoners were brought into the Emperor's Presence, and being commanded to fall down in a Posture of Adoration, they took no notice of those that spoke to 'em, nor look'd that

\* Alcoran, Chap, KCV

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way, nor made any Answer. At last Omar. being urg'd to it, Derar answer'd, Alwakidi. That they did not think Adoration was due to any Creature; besides our Prophet has forbidden us to pay it. The Emperor

ask'd feveral Questions concerning their. Prophet, and they beckon'd to Kais Ebn Amer, an old Man, and thorough-

ly acquainted with those Matters, to answer him. Among other Questi-

ons, the Emperor ask'd him, after what manner Inspiration us'd to come

upon their Prophet, at his first setting forth? Kais told him, that Mahomet

himself having been formerly ask'd that Question by an Inhabitant of Meccah,

answer'd, That sometimes it us'd to be like the Sound of a Bell, but stronger and

Sharper; Sometimes an Angel appear'd to me in humane Shape, and discours'd with me, and I committed to Memory what he

said. Ayesha said, that once the Spirit of Prophecy desended upon him on a very cold Day, and when it was gone off from

him, his Foreheadran down with Sweat.

The first Message he received was in a

Dream; and whenever he saw a Vision, it appear'd to him like the breaking forth of the Morning-Brightness. Then he shut

himself up in a close Place alone, where he

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Omar. Alwakidi,

\* Alcoran,
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the whole Alcoran.

continu'd till the TRUTH came to him. An Angel came to him, being thus hut up, and faid, Read. To which he answer'd, I cannot read. Then the Angelrepeatedit, andhaving instructed him in Things to come, fent him forth, and faid to him, \* Read in the Name of thy Lord who created, &c. With which the Apostle of God (Mahomet) return'd to his place, with his Flesh trembling. Then he went into the House to Chadijah, and said. Zammilouni, Zammilouni, Wrap me up, wrap me up. Upon which they wrapped him up in Blankets, till he came to himself, and his Fear was gone off: After which he gave an Account of the whole Matter to Chadijah, after this manner

As I was walking (said he) I heard a Voice from Heaven; and lifting up my Eyes, I saw the same Angel which came to me before, sitting upon a Throne between Heaven and Earth. Being afraid of him, I went home, and said, Zammilouni Datthirouni, wrap me up in Blankets and Matts. And at that time God sent down to me that Chapter which begins with these Words, \* O thou that art wrapped in Blankets: And part of that which begins with these Words, † O thou that art wrap-

LXXIII, of the Alcoran.

Alcoran.

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wrapped in Matts, to these Words, And flee from the Punishment; which is the

fifth Verse of that Chapter.

The Byzantine Historians, and those other Writers who have followed them blindfold in their Account of Mahomet. will needs have it, that Mahomet was troubled with the Falling-Sickness: And || Hottinger takes his being wrapp'd || Historia up in Mats and Blankets for an undeni-Orientalis, able Proof of it. As for the Byzantines, Lib. 1. Cap. 2. their Authority in this Matter is of no great weight at all, especially considering they always make it their Buliness to represent Mahomet as full of all manner of Imperfections, both of Body and Mind as possible; as if the Christian Religion was best serv'd by preverting of History. As to his being wrapped up in Blankets, there might be many Occasions of that besides the Falling-Sickness; and his being troubled with that Difease having no Foundation in any Arabick Historian, it ought, till it be better made appear, to be rejected among the rest of those idle Stories which have been told of Mahomet by the Christians.

To return to our History. The Alwakidi. Emperor afterwards ask'd him, what he he had feen of Mahomet's Miracles.

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Kais told him, that being once upon a lourney with him, there came an Arabian up to them, whom Mahomet ask'd. if he would testify, that there was but one God, and that he was his Prophet. The Arabian ask'd him, what Witness he had that what he faid was true? To which Mahomet answer'd, This Tree: And calling the Tree to him, it came upright, plowing the Ground up with its Roots. Mahomet bad it bear witness: Which it did; saying three times, Thou art the Apostle of God. After which it return'd, and stood in its Place as before. Heraclius faid, He had heard, that it was a part of their Religion to believe, that if any of them did any Good, it should be return'd to them ten-fold: If evil, only once. Kais told him, that it was true, and quoted this text out of the \* Chap. VI. Alcoran; \* He that does Good shall re-161. XL. 43 ceive ten times fo much; but be that does Evil, shall receive only so much. The Emperor ask'd him, if their Prophet was not called the Witness. To which Kais answer'd, That he was the Wit-

ness in this World, and the Witness against Men in the World to come, be-

cause

cause God says, \* O Prophet ! we have Omar. sent thee a Witness, and a Preacher of good News, and a Warner. The Em. Alcoran, peror ask'd him concerning Mahamet's 8. & XXXIII. Nights Journey to Heaven, and his ... discoursing there with the most High: which Kais affirmed to be true, and prov'd it from the first Verse of the seventeenth Chapter of the Alcoran. Then the Emperor ask'd him concerning their fasting in the Month Ramadan; in which, Mahomet affirm'd, that the Alcoran came down from Heaven; which Kais acknowledg'd. A Bishop who was present at this Conference, speaking something to the Disparagement of Mahomet, proyok'd Derar Ebnol Azwar (one of the Prisoners) to fuch a degree, that he gave him the Lye, and reviled him in most reproachful Language, affirming that Mahomet was a Prophet, but the Veil of Infidelity hinder'd them from the Knowledge of him. Upon which fome of the Christians drew their Swords, to chastize his Infolence: But it feems he had a most wonderful Deliverance : for the' they struck at him fourteen times, he escaped safe. However, if Youkinna had not interceded for a Reprieve till

the next Day, he would certainly have been executed by the Emperor's Command.

In the mean time Abu Obeidah proceeded in his March, receiving by Surrender those Places which remain'd. till he came to that Bridge which they call'd the Iron Bridge, very near Antioch. The Emperor commits the Care of the Army, and the City to Toukinna, and deliver'd to him a Crucifix out of the Church, which was never shewn publickly, but upon extraordinary Occasions. Then he call'd for the Prisoners. But Youkinna told him, that it would be the best way to spare them, because if any of the Christians should be taken, they might be exchang'd : Upon which Suggestion their Execution was deferr'd, and by the Advice of the Bishops, they were carried into the Great Church, to fee if any of them would embrace the Christian Religion, and be baptiz'd. Amer, the Son of Rephaa turn'd; but our Author will needs have it, that it was the Drefs and Beauty of the Grecian Ladies influenc'd the Young Man more than any Conviction of Conscience. When his Father Rephaa heard of it, he broke out into

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into this passionate Exclamation: What! turn Infidel after having embrac'd the Faith! Alas for thee! Thou art driven from the Gate of the most Merciful. Alas for thee, thou hast denied the King, the Judge. Alas for thee, thou Reprobate! How hast thou denied the Lord of Might and perfect Power! I swear by God, that I weep not for thee, because I must part with thee in this World, but because I must part with thee in the next; when thou must go one way, and I another. When thou halt go to the Habitation of Devils, and be plac'd with the se Priests and Deacons in the \* lowest Mansion of Hell, I \* Arab. Sadi-Shall go with the Followers of Mahomet, fati. i. e. The (upon whom be the Bleffing of God) to meet those Spirits which converse with him. O Son chuse not the Delights of this present World before that to come. Oh! How Shall I be astonish'd and confounded for this that thou hast done, when thou comest to stand in the Presence of the Lord of all Power and Might, the King of this World, andthat to come! And how shall I be ashamed before Mahomet, the elect Prophet of God! O Son! From whom wilt thou feek Intercession + another 'Day!

+ Arab. Gadan. i. e. To Morrow.

is used to express future Time; and signifies in this Place the Day of Judgment.

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The Young Man was baptiz'd, and received with great Courtefy both by the Emperor and the Bishops. The Emperor gave him a Horse, and a" young Woman, and lifted him into Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham's Army, confifting of Christian Arabs The Patriarch ask'd the rest, what hindred them from turning Christians too. To which they answer'd, The truth of our Religion. The Patriarch represented to them the Danger they incurr'd, by difpleasing Jesus Christ. To which Rephan reply'd, That it would one Day be determined, which Party was rejected, and which in the Favour of God. Heraclius told them, that he had been informed that their Calipbus'd to wear very mean Apparel; adding, That he had gotten enough from the Christians to afford himself a better Dress, and ask'd. what should hinder him from going like other Princes. Repbaa toldhim, That the Consideration of the other World, and the Fear of God binder'd bim. To the other Questions propos'd by the Emperor, they answer'd in a Cant fo very much like what our Ears have for fomelate Years been us'd to that were it not for the Difference of the Language,

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guage, we might justly have suspected them to have been nearer Neighbours. The Emperor ask'd them, What fort of a Palace their Caliph had? They faid, it was made of Mud. And who (faid the Emperor) are his Attendants? The Beggars and poor People. What Tapefiry does he fit upon? Justice and Uprightnefs. And what is his Throne? Abstinence and certain Knowledge. what is his Treasure? Trust in God. And who are his Guard? The stoutest of the UNITARIANS. They added, Do'ft thou not know, O King! that several have said unto him, O Omar ! Lo, thou possessest the Treasures of the Cæsars; and Kings and great Men are subdued unto thee: Now therefore why puttest thou not on rich Garments? He faid unto them, Te feek the outward World, but I feek the Favour of him that is Lord both of this World, and that to come.

The Emperor having discours'd with them as long as he thought fit, remanded them to Prison, and went to take a view of his Army, which he sound drawn up without the City in very good Order. At the Head of every Regiment there was a little Church made of Wood, for the Soldiers to go

to Prayers in. On a sudden, he was inform'd that the Arabs were Masters of the Iron Bridge. He was very much furpriz'd to hear that they had taken two Towers, in which there were no fewer than three hundred Officers, in fo short a time; but it seems they were betrav'd: Which was occasion'd thus: A great Officer at Court us'd to go every Day to see that these Towers were well guarded, and not neglected. One Day he found those whose Business ir was to take care of these Towers. drinking and revelling, and no Body upon Duty. Provok'd with this intolerable Negligence, he order'd them fifty Lashes a-piece. This severe Discipline made them study Revenge; and accordingly, when Abu Obeidab and his Army drew near, they made Articles for themselves, and deliver'd the Towers into the Hands of the Saracens.

The Emperor having now no Hopes left, assembled the Bishops and great Men together in the Great Church, and there bewail'd the unhappy Fate of Syria. Jabalah told him, that if the Caliph was kill'd, the Affairs of the Saracens would be embroil'd, and it would

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would be of great Moment towards the Recovery of what he had loft. Having obtained Leave, he fent one of his Christian Arabs, whose Name was Wathek Ebn Mofapher, a refolute young Man, with Orders to take a convenient Opportunity of killing the Caliph. Omar, after Prayers, went out of the City, to take a Walk, according to his Custom. Wathek went before him. and got upon a Tree, where he fat privately, till at last he observ'd Omar lie down to fleep very near him. Having this fair Opportunity, he drew his Dagger, and was just coming down, when casting his Eyes about, he saw a Lion walking round about Omar, and licking his Feet; who guarded him till he awoke, and then went away. Surpriz'd at this, and struck with a profound Reverence for the Caliph, whom he now look'd upon as the peculiar Care of Heaven, he came down and kiss'd his Hand, and having told him his Errand, made Profession of the Mahometan Religion immediately, being strangely affected with this wonderful Deliverance.

In the mean time the Armies before

Antioch drew near to Battle, and the
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Offiar. Alwákidi. Christian General's Name was Nestortus. He went out first, and challeng'd' any Saracen to fingle Combat. Dames answer'd him; but in the Engagement, his Horse stumbling, he was seiz'd before he could recover himfelf, and being taken Prisoner, was convey'd to Nestorius his Tent, and there bound. Neftorius returning to the Army, and offering himfelf a fecond time, was anfwer'd by one Debac. The Combatants behav'd themselves bravely, and the Victory was doubtful, which made all the Soldiers defirous of being Spectators. The justling and thronging both of Horse and Foot to see this Engagement, threw down Nestorius his Tent and Chair of State. He had three Servants left in the Tent, who fearing they should be beaten when their Master came back, and having no body elfe to help them, told Dames, that if he would lend them an Hand to fet up the Tent, and put Things in Order, they would unbind him, upon Condition that he should voluntarily return to his Bonds again, till their Master came home, at which time they promis'd to speak a good Word for him. He readily accepted the Terms; but as foon as he was

at Liberty, he immediately feiz'd two of them, one in his Right Hand, the other in his Left, and dash'd their two Heads to violently against the third Man's that they all three fell down dead upon the Place. Then he open'd a Cheft, and took out a good Suit of Cloaths, and mounting a good Horse of Nestorius's, he wrapp'd up his Face as well as he could, and made towards the Christian Arabs, where Jabalah with the chief of his Tribe stood on the Left Hand of Heraclius. In the mean time, Dehac and Nestorius, being equally match'd, continu'd fighting, till both their Horses were quite tir'd out, and they were oblig'd to part by Confent, to rest themselves. Nestorius returning to his Tent, and finding Things in fuch a Posture, easily guess'd that it must be Dames his doing. The News flew instantly through all the Army, and every one was furpriz'd at the Strangeness of the Action. Dames, in the mean time, had gotten among the Christian Arabs, and striking off at one Blow a Man's Head that stood next him, made a speedy Escape to the Saracen Army.

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All this while Youkinna was contriving which way to do the Saracens Service; and when Derar and his Companions had been Prisoners eight Months, and were just about being beheaded, he interceeded with the Emperor to spare them; affuring him, that if he put them to Death, the Saracens would never more give Quarter to any Christian, whenever any of them should fall into their Hands. The Emperor not suspecting any Treachery, committed them to his Care; who, watching a convenient Opportunity, fet them at Liberty, and gave them their Arms, affuring them, that there were a great many Persons of the highest Quality in the Emperor's Service, who were fully refolv'd to go over to the Saracens. The Emperor dishearten'd with a constant Course of ill Success, and terrify'd with a Dream which he had of one thrusting him out of his Throne, and his Crown falling from his Head, took some of his Domesticks, and escaping privately to the Sea-shore, embark'd for Constantinople.

Our Author tells us a strange Story of the Emperor's turning Mahometan, which was occasion'd by a great Pain

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in his Head, for which he could get Omar. Alwakidi no Help, till he applied himself to Omar, who fent him a Cap, which fo long as he wore he was well; but when he took it off it return'd again. The Emperor wondering at this strange Effect, would have the Cap ripp'd open; but found nothing in it but a little piece of Paper, with Bismillab, Arrahmâni 'rrahhími, In the Name of the most merciful God, written upon it. This Cap, it feems, was posses'd by the Christians till the Reign of Almetasem (which began in the Year of our Lord 833.) who befieging Ammouriyab, was grievously afflicted with the Headach; upon which the Governour of the Town promis'd him the Cap, upon Condition that he should raise the Sege. The Caliph, Almotásem, undertook it, provided the Cap produc'd the desired Effect, which it did incontinently, and the Siege was accordingly The same Curiosity which mov'd the Emperor Heraclius to have the Cap open'd, made this Caliph do fo too; but he found nothing in it but the above-mention'd Scrip of Paper; whose Vertue was not in the least impair'd or diminish'd in the space of two hun-Y 3

Omar, Alwákidi, hundred Years; which Period of Time, would, in all Probability, have made fome Alteration in an ordinary Medicine. But the Case is quite different here, for we have been told by other Hands, that the Relicks of holy Men are never the worse for wearing. What is it that some Men will not believe and write when once bigotted to Superstition!

To return to the Army. Antioch was not lost without a set Battel; but through the Treachery of Toukinna, and several other Persons of Note, together with the Assistance of Derar and his Company, who were mixt with Toukinna's Men, the Christians were beaten entirely. The People of the Town perceiving the Battle lost, made Agreement, and surrender'd, paying down three hundred thousand Ducats. Upon which Abu Obeidah enter'd into Antioch on Tuesday, being the twenty first Day of August, in the Year of our Lord 638.

Hegirah 17. A. D. 638.

Thus fell that ancient and famous City, the Seat of so many Kings and Princes, into the Hands of the Infidels. The Sweetness of the Situation, and Abundance of all things contributing to Delight and Luxury, was so great, that

that Abu Obeidah, fearing lest his Saracens, effeminated with the Delicacies of that Place, should remit any thing of their wonted Vigour and Bravery, durst not let them continue there long; but after three Days Refreshment, withdrew them from thence.

Then he wrote a Letter to the Caliph, in which he gave him an Account of his great Success in taking the Metropolis of Syria, and Heraclius his Flight to Constantinople: Telling him withal, what was the reason why he staid no longer there. He added, that the Saracens were desirous of marrying the Grecian Women, which he had forbidden. That he was afraid lest the Love of the things of this World should take Possession of their Hearts, and draw them off from their Obedience to God. That he staid expecting surther Orders, &c.

Having written this Letter, he ask'd who would carry it. Zeid Ebn Wabeb, who was Omar Ebn Auf's Slave, proffer'd his Service. Abu Obeidab told him, that fince he was a Slave, he could not in any case dispose of his Service, but must first ask his Master's Leave. Zeid hereupon went to his Master, and

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bow'd himfelf down to the Ground, to rouch it with his Forehead, according to the manner of Prostration in the Eastern Countries: But his Master forbad him, being a Man altogether abstracted from the Love of the Things of this World, and not desiring any such Respect, as being wholly intent and fix'd upon the other World. He was abstinent to such a degree, that his whole Inventory confifted in these few Necessaries: a Sword, a Launce, a Horse, a Camel, a Knapsack, a Platter, and an Alcoran. When any part of the Spoil fell to his Share, he never laid up any thing for himself, but always divided it amongst his Friends: and if there was any thing left, he fent it to the Calibb, to be distributed among the Poor. Zeidhaving ask'd his leave to carry the Letter, he was fo well pleas'd to fee fuch a good Inclination in his Slave, to be a Messenger of good News to the Calipb, that he immediately gave him his Freedom. When Zeid came near to Medinah, he was furpriz'd with an unusual Noise; but upon Enquiry, he was inform'd, that the Caliph was going on Pilgrimage to Meccab, and the Prophet's Wives along with him.

him. Omar, having heard the News, fell down and worshipp'd, saying, O. God! Praife and Thanks be to thee, for thine abundant Grace. Having read the Letter, he wept, and faid, that Obu Obeidah had not been kind to the Mullemans. Then fitting down upon the Ground, he wrote an Anfwer to Abu Obeidab; in which, after having express'd with what Satisfaction he receiv'd the News of his good Success; he blam'd him, for not having been more indulgent to the Mullemans; adding, That God did not forbid the Use of the good Things of this Life to faithful Men, and such as perform'd good Works: Wherefore he ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake freely of those good Things which the Country afforded. That if any of the Saracens had no Family in Arabia, they might marry in Syria; and who soever of them wanted any Female Slaves, might purchase as many as he had Occasion for. He order'd him to purfue the Enemy, and enterinto the Mountainous part of the Country; and then concluded.

Zeid returning to the Army with the Caliph's Letter, found the Saracens full of Joy; occasion'd by Caled's good Suc-

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cels, who had gone through the Country as far as the Eupbrates, and taken Menbigz, and fome other neighbouring Towns, as Berauand Bales, upon Surrender; the Inhabitants paying down one hundred thousand Ducats for their present Security, and submitting to Tribute for the time to come. This was done in the Month Moharram, of the eighteenth Year of the Heg jrah; which answers partly to January, of the Year of our Lord 638, according to our Account. Our Author must here, as in fome other Places, answer for his own Chronology; for the Messenger Zeid was sent to Medinah presently after the taking of Antioch, which wasin August; and there is no account given of any Bufiness extraordinary that detain'd him there: Which makes it look fomething strange, that he should be four Months going and returning from Antioch (or Aleppo) to Medinah, especially considering with what quick Dispatch the Saracens us'd to move upon fuch Occasions.

Abu Obeidah having receiv'd the Caliph's Letter, ask'd the Muslemans, which of them would undertake to make an Attempt upon the mountain-

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Alwakidi

ous part of the Country. Whether the Difficulty of the Service, or what other Reason discourag'd them, is uncertain: but no body answer'd him the two first times. At last Méifarab Ebn Mefrouk proffer'd his Service, and receiv'd at the Hands of the General a black Flag, with this Inscription upon it in white Letters. THERE IS BUT ONE GOD: MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD. He took along with him 200 chosen Arabs, besides 1000 Slaves, Blacks, commanded by Dames. They found it a very uneafy Undertaking; for tho' the Summer came on apace, they were forc'd to make use of all the Cloaths they had, and knew very well what to have done with more; for they met with nothing but Frost and Snow amongst the Mountains; which was extreamly disagreeable to their Bodies, who had been brought up under the Torrid Zone. Marching a long way, they came to Village; but finding no body in it (for the Country fled before them ) they took what there was, and mov'd forwards. At last they took a Prisoner, who inform'd them, that there were Forces of the Emperor,

to the number of thirty thousand, fent to guard that part of the Country, not above three Leagues distant. They ask'd him, whether it were most advifable to advance towards them, or stand their Ground. To which he answer'd, That it were better for them to flay where. they were, than to hazardthemselves by going any further among the Mountains. The Saracens having examin'd him as long as they thought fit, offer'd him the Mahometan Religion; which herewas beheaded. In a short fuling, time after, the Greeks came within fight, and the Battle was join'd. Méifarah, over-power'd with Multitude, was foon furrounded. However he fent a Messenger to Abu Obeidab, who made fuch haste, that as soon as he came into his Presence, he was not able to fpeak a Word, but fell down in a Swoon. Abu Obeidab having caus'd some Water to be sprinkled on his Face, and refresh'd him with Meat and Drink, he came to himself, and deliver'd his Errand. Upon which Abu Obeidah sent Caled to Méisarah's Affistance with 2000 Horse; and after him Ayad Ebn Ganam with 2000 more. But before they came up, Abdollah Ebn Hodapha,

VIXX miles

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pha, a Saracen of Note, and much belov'd by the Caliph, was taken Prisoner, and fent away towards Conftantinople. The Greeks perceiving there were fresh Supplies come to the Saracens, durst not run the hazard of another Battle the next Day, but withdrew in the Night, and left their Tents to the Saracens. They not thinking it a prudent part to purfue the Enemy any further in that mountainous Country, return'd to Abu Obeidab, who writing an Account of the whole Business to Medinah, the Caliph was extreamly concern'd at the Loss of Abdollah Ebn Hodapha, which occasion'd his writing the following Letter to the Emperor Heraclius.

## In the Name of the most merciful God.

VIDE VI

\* Praise be to God, Lord of this and \* Alcoran, Chap. I. 1.
the other World: † Who has neither † Alcoran, Chap. I. 1.
|| Female Consort, nor Son. And the Chap. LXXII.3
|| Blessing of God be upon Mahomet, bis || Arab. Sahhibah.
| Prophet and Apostle \* divinely assisted. \* Arab. Alfrom the Servant of God, Omar Ebn mowayad.
| Alchitab to Heraclius King of Greece.
| As soon as this Letter of mine shall come to thy Hands, send to me the Prisoner that

Religion.

+ Alcoran

Omar. Alwakidi

is with thee; whose Name is Abdollah Ebn Hodapha: Which if thou shalt do; I shall hope that God will direct thee in-\* That is, into to the \* right Way. But if thou refuseft, I the Profession of shall fend thee Men, t whom Trade and the Mahometan Merchandice shall not divert from the Remembrance of God. | Health and

Chap, XXIV. Happiness be upon every one that fol-Alcor. Chap. lows the right Way. XX. 49.

> I do not question but the Reader will think this Letter writ in a very particular Stile: but it is no other than what might be expected from those most inveterate and Mortal Enemies of Christianity, who made it always their Business to treat the Professors of it with the utmost Contempt and Aversion. This Prisoner, Abdollab Ebn Hodapha, was Mahemet's Cousin German. Our Author tells us, that the Emperor made him very large Proffers, if he would have renounc'd his Mahometanifm; but all in vain. Nor were his Threats more influencing than his Promifes. It feems he proffer'd him his Liberty, if he would but have made one fingle Ado. ration before a Crucifix. The Empefor would have perswaded him to have drunk Wine, and eat Hogs Flesh; which

which he refusing, was shut up into a Omar. Room where he had nothing elfe. Upon the fourth Day they vifited him, and found all untouch'd. The Emperor ask'd him, what hindred him from Eating and Drinking? To which he answer'd, The Fear of God and his Apostle : Notwithstanding (added he ) I might lawfully have eat it after three Days Abstinence, yet I Abstain d, because I would not be reproach'd by the Mustemans. Herachus having receiv'd Omar's Letter, not only difmis'd the Prisoner, but gave both him and the Messenger that brought the Letter, feveral Prefents, and rich Cloaths, and allowed them a fufficient Guard to conduct them fafe through his Territories. Befides all this, he made a Prefent of a costly Jewel to Omar, who offer'd it to the Jewellers at Medinah; but they were ignorant of the Worth of it. The Muslemans would have perswaded him to have kept it for his own Use; but he faid, he could not answer that to the Publick. Wherefore it was afterward fold, and the Price of it put into the publick Treafury; of which the Calipb was in these Days only the Steward or Manager : For tho'it was all at

his

his Disposal, yet he very seldom apply'd any of it to his own private Use, much less to Extravagance and Luxury; but took care to lay it out fo as it might do most Service to the Publick.

We have before acquainted the Reader, that after Omarhad taken Jerufalem, he divided the Army, and fent one part of it under Abu Obeidah, towards Aleppo; the other under Amrou Ebno'l Aas to Ægypt. Amrou did not march directly to Egypt, but continu'd a while in Palestine, to take some Places there which as yet held out. As he was marching towards Cafarea, the Saracens found the Weather extreamly cold. Sobeih Ebn Hamzah, eating some Grapes at that time, was fo chill'd, that he was scarce able to endure it. An old Christian that was prefent, told him, that if he found himself cold with eating the Grapes, the best Remedy would be to drink fome of the Juice of them, and withal produc'd a large Veffel of Wine. Sobeib and fome of his Friends took the old Man's Advice, and drank fo freely of his Liquor, that they went staggering to the Army. Amrou understanding their Condition, wrote

all receiv'd a sufficient Number of Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. The Refreshment they receiv'd by drinking the Wine, was so far, in their Opinion, from counter-balancing the Severity of the Punishment, that Sobeith swore he would kill that Fellow that help'd him to it; and had been as good as his Word, if one that was present had not told him, that the Man was under the Protection of the Saracens.

Constantine, the Emperor Heraclius his Son, guarded that part of the Country where Amrou lay, with a confiderable Army; and frequently fent Spies (Christian Arabs) into his Camp. One of them went one time, and fat down amongst some Arabs of Aymaan, or Arabia Falix, that had made them a Fire. Having convers'd with them as long as was for his Purpofe, without being suspected; as he was rising to go away, he trod upon his Vest and stumbled; upon which he fwore, By Chrift, unawares. The Oath was no fooner out of his Mouth, but they immediately knew him to be a Christian Spa, and cut him to Pieces in an instant. Amrou was angry, when he heard it,

2 26

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because he would have had the examining him first. Besides, he told them, That it oftentimes happen'd, that a Spy, when put to it, came over to them, and embrac'd the Mahometan Religion. Upon which he gave a strict Order throughout the Camp, that if ever they met with a Stranger or Spy, they should

convey them to him.

The Armies drawing near, there came a Christian Priest to the Saracens. who desir'd that an Emir, or Principal Officer, might be fent to Constantine, to discourse with him. There was a huge, monstrous Fellow, a Black, whose Name was Belal E.bn Rebab, who proffer'd his Service. But Amrou told him, that it would be better to fend an Arabian, who could talk more politely than an Æthiopian. Belâl refolving, if possible, to take no Denial, adjur'd him by God to let him go. To which Amrou answer'd, That since be had adjur'd him by the most Mighty, it (hould be fo. This Belal had formerly been Mahomet's Crier; that is, the Perfon that calls the People together to Prayers. And never exercis'd that Of-\* MS. Arah. fice \* (as the Author of the History of Pococ. Num. Ferusalem fays) after Mahomet's Death,

362.

but

but only once, when Omar commanded

Omar.

him to perform that Service at the taking of Ferufalem: Otherwise, I suppose it would have been beneath him to have ferv'd any other Person, who had been employ'd after that manner by the Prophet; but the taking of 7erusalem, which had been the Seat of the ancient Prophets, and was a Place very much reverenc'd by the Mahometans, was an extraordinary Occasion. \*\* Alwakidi. When he came to the Prieft, he difdain'd to have an Athiopian fent, and bad him go back again, telling him, that his Master Constantine had not fent for a Slave, but an Officer. Belâl, who valu'd himself very much upon his Office, and expected every one should do fo too, thought himself affronted;

this not being receiv'd, he was forc'd to go back again; and at last Amrourefolv'd to go himself. It will not be amiss to insert a short Account of their Conference, as deliver'd by our Author, that the Reader may fee what fort of a

and let him know, that he had been no less a Person than the Muézzin of the Apostle of God, and that he was able to give his Master an Answer. But

Notion the Mahometans have of ancient When History.

When Amron came into Constantine's Presence, he offer'd him a Seat; but, according to the Practice of the Saracens, he resus'd to make use of it; chusing rather to sit cross-legg'd upon the Ground, with his Sword upon his Thigh, and his Launce laid a-cross before him. Constantine told him, that the Arabs and Greeks were near Kindred, and that it was pity they should make War one upon the other. Amron answer'd, That their Religion was different; upon which score it was lawful for Brothers to quarrel. However, he said, he desir'd to know which way the Koreithæ came to be so near akin to the

\* A noble Tribe \* Koreithæ came to be so near akin to the amongthe Arabs, Greeks? Constantine answer'd, (accordnet was. ing to our Author) Was not our first

Father Adam, then Noah, then Abraham, then Esau, then Isaac, which were both Sons of Abraham († the Blessing of

that is an Foth Sons of Abraham (I the Blelling of Extression us'd God be upon them all.) Now one by the Arab Brother ought not to do Injustice to ever they men- another, and quarrel about that Division any of the ancient Prophets. It ion which was made for them by their Fore-fathers. Thus far you say true,

He makes answer'd Amrou, That || Esau begot lof this Genea-

togy; but the Arabick may be read, Esau Walado Ishac; i. e. Esau is the Son of Isaac; not walada, begot Isaac. But if, to help him out, we should read it so, we contradict him, for just before he reckons Esau before Isaac.

faac,

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Con-

faac, and Ishmael is Esau's Uncle; and so we are the Sons of one Father, and Noah was our Father. Now Noah divided the Landinto Parts when he was angry with his Son Ham; with which Division they were not pleas'd, but quarrel'd about it: And this Land in which you are, is not yours properly, but belongs to the Amalekites, who had it before you. For Noah divided it among his three Sons, Sem, Ham, and Japhet; and gave his Son Sem, Syria, and what lies round it, from Arabia Feelix and Hadramut to Amman; and all the Arabs are the Offspring of Sem and Kathan, and Telm, and lodais, and Amalek who is the Father of the Amalekites. To his Son Ham be gave the West and Sea-shore; and he left Japhet between the East and West; \* For the Earth is the Lord's, he gives \* Alcoran, it as an Inheritance to which of his Ser- Ch. VII. 125. vants he pleases, and the latter End is to the Faithful. We therefore, adds Amrou, desire to have this ancient Division restored, and make things equal after this manner. We will take what is in your Hands, and you shall take the Stones and Thorns, and barren Grounds which we possess, in lieu of the se pleasant Rivers, rich Pastures, and Stately Buildings.

4 3

Constantine told him, that the Division was already made, and that it would be great Injustice in them not to be content with what had fallen to their Share. To which Amrou answer'd. That they liked the Provision and manner of Living in Syria, so much better than their own courfe Fare at home, that they could never think of leaving the Country till they had conquer'd it, and could fit down at quiet under those shady Trees. A little while after, he told those that were present, That it would be no bard matter for them to continue in the Possession of what they had; for it was only changing their Religion, and the Business was done. But both that and Payment of Tribute being refus'd, Amrou told 'em, That there was nothing now left, but to determine it by the Sword. God knows, faid he, that I have call'd you to the means by which you might fave your selves, but

\* This the Mahometans have from the Jews, who believe most Europeans to be the off-spring of Esau. Abarbanel takes a great deal of Pains to preve it, and those Jews I have conversed with we of the same Opinion.

you are rebellious, just as your Father \* Esau was disobedient to his Mothers. Tou reckon your selves akin to us, but we desire to have nothing to do with your Affinity, so long as

you continue Infidels. You, besides, are the

the Off-spring of Efau, we of \* Ishmael: And God chofe our Prophet Mahomet from Adam, to the time that he came out of the \* Amongflother Loins of his Father; and made him the best which some of the of the Sons of Ishmael, (and his Father Ish- Christian Writer, mael was the first that spoke Arabick) and have told of the he made the Tribe of Kenanah the best of one, viz. That the Arabs; and the Family of Koreishæ they called the best of Kenanah; and the Off-spring of saracens, be-Hashem, the best of the Koreishæ; and cause they the best of the Sons of Hashem, Abdo'l- would have the World bemutaleb the Prophet's Grandfather; and lieve that they Sent the Angel Gabriel down to him [Ma- were descend- ed from Sarah, homet with Inspiration.

Omar Alwakidi. Abraham's lawful Wife ;

being asham'd of Hagar his Slave. But the contrary is most evident, for they are neither asham'd of Ishmael nor Hagar. As for Ishmael, we have an Instance in this very Place: And for Hagar, the Reader may confult the Jauharian, (a famous Arab Lexicographer) who in the Word Agara, says, Hagar is the Mother of Ishmael, upon whom be Peace.

The Conference ending without any Hopes of Accommodation, Amroureturn'd to his Army, and both fides prepar'd for Battle, as foon as a convenient Opportunity should offer it self. One Day, there came forth out of Constantine's Army, an Officer very richly dress'd, which made several of the Saracens desirous of fighting with him, in hopes of carrying off his Spoil. Amrou us'd to fay, That he would have no Man

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Mangoto fight out of Greediness; for the Reward which was to be expected from God, was much better than the Spoil of the Enemy. He added, That who foever was kill'd in Battle, lost bis Life either for the sake of God, or else for some other End which he propos' d to himself. If the former, then God would be his Reward; but if he propos'dany temporal Thing, he was to expett nothing elfe, and that he had heard the Prophet Speak to the same purpose. There came forth to this Officer a beardless Stripling, whose forward Zeal had prompted him on to leave Arabia Fælix, and venture himself in the Wars. His Mother and Sister had hitherto bore him Company in his Travels. This Youth us'd to fay, That it was not the Delicacies of Syria, that mov'd him to go thither, (because the Delights of this World were fading, but those of the other durable.) But that his Defire was to fight for the Service of God, feeking the Favour of God and his Apofle. Because he had heard one say, that the Martyrs (hall be maintain'd with their Lord. How canthat be, answer'd his Sifter, how can they be maintain'd when dead? He answer'd, That he had heard one that was ecquainted with the Apostle of God, Say, That

That the Spirits of the Martyrs shall be put into the Corps of green Birds that live in Paradise, which Birds shall eat the Fruits of Paradife, and drink the Rivers; this is the Maintenance which God has provided for them. He went out to fight with the Christian, after he had taken his last Leave of his Mother and Sifter. and told them, that they should meet again at that † large Water which belongs to the Apostle of God in Paradise. Hhaud. The Christian Officer not only kill'd this Youth, but two or three more. At last Serjabil Ebn Hasanab came forth to him; but he was so emaciated with Watching and Fasting, that he was not able to stand before him. Christian at last got him down, sat upon him, and was just going to cut his Throat: when on a fudden there came a Horseman out of the Grecian Army, who immediately kick'd the Christian off, and taking him at Advantage, struck his Head off. Serjabil, surpriz'd at this unexpected Deliverance, ask'd him, who he was, and from whence he came? I am, faid he, the unhappy Tulèina Ebn Chowailed, who pretended to prophesy like the Apostle of God; and lyed against God, saying, that Inspiration came

+ Arab.

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came down to me from Heaven. Serjabit answer'd, O Brother! God's Mercy is infinite; and he that repents, and for fakes, and turns himself to God; he accepts of bis Repentance, and forgives him what he has done; for the Prophet (ays, Repentance takes away what was done before it. And dost thou not know, OEbn Chowailed, that God faid to our Prophet, My Mercy is extended to every Creature that defires it? And faid what he could to comfort him. Notwithstanding which, conscious to himself of the Groffness of his Crime, he could not find in his Heart to return to the Saracens; but being very much press'd to it by Serjabil, he at last told him in plain Terms, that he was afraid of Caled, (the Scourge of false Prophets. who broke them to Pieces at first, and kill'd Moseilamah, the Chief of them ) Serjabil affur'd him, that Caled was not present, but staid at Aleppo with Abu Obeidah. At last, with much ado, he perswaded him to go with him to the Army. This Tuleibab, after Moscilamab was kill'd, withdrew himself out of Arabia, which would then have been foon too hot for him, and went and liv'd privately with a Mahometan in Syrias

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ria, who maintain'd him for a while: till at last they being very familiar, and thoroughly acquainted, Tuleiha made himself known, and gave him an Account of his whole Story. Landlord, as foon as he understood his Character, treated him with the utmost Aversion, and would entertain him no longer, but turn'd him out of Doors. Reduc'd to this Extremity, he was almost at his Wits End, and had fome thoughts of taking Ship, and retiring into fome Island : But Constantine's Army coming into those Parts before he could put his Defign in Execution, he chose rather to lift himself under him, in hopes of finding an Opportunity of ingratiating himfelf with the Mullemans.

Being at last prevail'd upon to go back to the Saracens, he was very courteously receiv'd by Amrou; who not only gave him Thanks for his singular Service, but upon his expressing his Apprehensions of Caled, promis'd to secure him, and wrote a recommendatory Letter to Omar, acquainting him with the signal Proof which Tuleiha had given of his sincere and unfeigned Repentance. Tuleiha found the Caliph at Mec-

Meccah: Delivering the Letter, and withal telling him that he repented, Omar ask'd who he was? and had no fooner heard his Name mention'd, but he made off as fast as he could, faying, Alas for thee! If I forgive thee, how shall I give an Account to God of the Murder of Ocasah? Tuléiba answer'd, Ocasah indeed fuffer'd Martyrdom by my Hands, which I am very forry for, and I hope that God will forgive me what I have done. Omar defir'd to know what Proof he could give of his Sincerity; but having perus'd Amrou's Letter, he was abundantly fatisfy'd, and kept him with him till he return'd to Medinah. after which he employ'd him in his Wars against the Persians.

To return to Constantine's Army. The Weather was very cold, and the Christians were quite dishearten'd, having been frequently beaten themselves, and discourag'd daily with the encreasing Power of the Saracens; so that a great many grew weary of the Service, and withdrew themselves from the Army. Constantine, having no Hopes of the Victory, and fearing lest the Saracens should seize Casarea, took an Opportunity in a tempestuous

Night

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Night to move off; and left his Camp to the Saracens. Amronacquainting Abu Obeidab with all that had happen'd, receiv'd express Orders to march directly to Cafarea, where he promis'd to join him speedily, in order to go against Tripoli, Accab and Tyre. In a little time after Tripoli was furpriz'd by the Treachery of Youkinna, who having gotten it on a fudden, and without any Noise, there came thither a little while after, about fifty Ships with Provision and Arms from Cyprus and Crete, which were to go to Constantine. The Officers not knowing that Tripoli was fallen into the Hands of New Masters. made no scruple of landing there, where they were courteously receiv'd by Toukinna, who proffer'd the utmost of his Service, and promis'd to go along with them. But immediately feiz'd both them and their Ships, and deliver'd the Town into the Hands of Caled, who was just come.

With these Ships the Traytor Youkinna goes to Tyre, where he tells the Inhabitants, that he had brought Arms and Provision for Constantine's Army. Upon which he was kindly receiv'd, and he with nine hundred of Omar. Alwakidi.

his Men landed, and were entertain'd. But being betray'd by one of his own Men, he and his Crew were feiz'd and bound; receiving all the while fuch Treatment from the Soldiers, as their villainous Practices best deserv'd. In the mean time Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan, being fent by Abu Obeidab from the Siege of Cafarea, came within Sight of Tyre. The Governour perceiving this, caus'd Toukinna and his Men to be convey'd to the Castle, and there secur'd. Having done this, he prepares for the Defence of the Town; and perceiving that Tezid had but a small Number, ( his Army not exceeding two Thoufand) he refolv'd to make a Salley. In the mean time, the rest of the Inhabitants ran up to the Walls, to fee the Engagement. Whilst they were fighting, Toukinna and his Men were fet at Liberty by one Basil, of whom they give the following Account: viz. " That this Basil going one Day to pay " a Visit to Bobeirah the Monk, the " Caravan of the Koreishæ came by, " with which were Cadijah's Camels, " which were look'd after by Maho-" met. He look'd towards the Cara-" van, in the Middle of which was

66 Ma-

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" Mahomet, and there was a Cloud " upon him to keep him from the Sun. "Then the Caravan alighted, and " Mahomet leaning against an old wi-" ther'd Tree, it immediately brought " forth Leaves. Bobeirah perceiving " this, made an Entertainment for the " Caravan, and invited them into the Monastery; Mahomet staying behind " with the Camels. Bobeirah missing " him, ask'd if there were all of them? "Yes, they faid, all but a little Boy " they had left to look after their " Things, and feed the Camels. What " is his Name, ? says Boheirah. They " told him Mohammed Ebn Abdo'llah. " Bobeirah ask'd, if his Father and Mo-" ther were not dead, and if he was " not brought up by his Grandfather " and his Uncle. Being fatisfy'd that " it was fo, he faid, O Koreish! Set a " great Value upon him, for he is your " Lord, and by him will your Power be great both in this World, and that to " come; for he is your Ornament and Glo-" ry. They ask'd him how he knew " that? Because, answer'd Bobeirah, as " you were coming, there was never aTree " nor Stone, nor Clod, but bow'd it felf " and worshipp'd God. Boheirah besides " told

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" told this Bafil, that a great many " Prophets had lean'd against this "Tree, and fat under it, but it ne-" ver bore any Leaves before, fince it " was wither'd. And I beard bim fav. " ( fays this fame Basil) This is the Pro-" phet, concerning whom sa (Jefus) spake, " happy is he that believes in him, and fol-" lows him, and gives Credit to his Mif-" fion. This Bafil, after this Visit to Bohéirah, had gone to Constantinople, and other Parts of the Greek Emperor's Territories, and upon Information of the great Success of the Followers of this Prophet, was abundantly convinc'd of the Truth of his Mission. This enclin'd him, having fo fair an Opportunity offer'd, to release Toukinna and his Men; who fending word to the Ships, the rest of their Forces landed and join'd them. In the mean time a Messenger in Disguise was fent to acquaint Yezid with what was done. As foon as he return'd, Toukinna was for falling upon the Townsmen upon the Wall; but Basilsaid, Perhaps Godmight lead some of them into the right Way; and perfwaded him rather to place the Men fo, as their coming down from the Wall might be prevented. This done,

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done, they cry out La Ilaba, &c. The People perceiving themselves betray'd, and the Prisoners at Liberty, were in the utmost Confusion; none of them being able to stir a Step, or lift up an Hand. Those in the Camp, hearing the Noise in the City, knew what was the Occasion of it, and Toukinna open'd the Gates and let them in. Those that were in the City, fled; some one way, fome another; and were purfued by the Saracens, and put to the Sword. Those upon the Wall, cry'd, Quarter: Tezid told them, That fince they had not furrender'd, but the City was taken by Force, they were all Slaves. However, faid he, we of our own accord fet you free, upon Condition you pay Tribute; and if any of you has a mind to change his Religion, he shall fare as well as we do. The greatest part of them turn'd Mahometans. When Constantine heard of the Loss of Tripoli and Tyre, his Heart fail'd him, and taking shipping with his Family and Wealth, he departed for Constantinople. All this while Amrou Ebno'l Aas lay before Cafarea. In the Morning, when the People came to enquire after Constantine, and could hear no Tidings of him nor his A a

Omar. A wákidi. Family; they advis'd together, and with one Confent furrender'd the City to Amrou, paying down for their Security two hundred thousand Pieces of Silver, and delivering into his Hands whatfoever belong'd to Constantine, that he had not carry'd away with him. Thus was Cafarea loft, in the Year of our Lord fix hundred and thirty nine, being the seventeenth Year of the Hegirah, and the fifth of Omar's Reign; which answers to the 29th Year of the Reign of the Emperor He-Upon which, those other Plaraclius. ces in Syria, which as yet held out, namely, Ramlah, Accah, Joppe, Ascalon, Gaza. Sichem [or Nabolos] and Tiberias surrender'd, and in a little time after, the People of Beirout, Zidon, 7abalah, and Laedicea, follow'd their Example; fo that there remain'd nothing more to be done in Syria, but all was entirely subdu'd to the Saracens, who had not spent above fix Years (from the time of their first Expedition in Abubeker's Reign) in subjugating that large, wealthy and populous Country.

Hegjrah 17. A. D. 639.

\* Eutychius,

THUS have I given the Reader the best Account I was able, of the Suracens Conquell of Syria; following all along, as to Matter of Fact, my Author Alwakidi, who has written the most particular Relation of that part of the History that I have yet met with; or that is extant, to the best of my Knowledge. As for that little which remains, in order to the compleating the Lives of this and the fucceeding Caliph, fince the short time of my Continuance at Oxford would not permit me to fearch for, or excerpt any more Manuscripts, I must be content to depend upon those Authors which have been already publish'd; as \* Eutychius, Elmakin, and Abu'lpharagius: In which, Elmakin, and Abu'lpharagius. tho' we have not fo large and particular an Account as in the former Part of our History; yet the Reader will find fomething which shall still contribute to the better Knowledge of that People, and increase his Admiration, at the wonderful Success of their Arms, by which they arriv'd at that stupendious Greatness.

Syria being conquer'd, remain'd not long in the Possession of those Persons

who A a 2

\* Amo'l re-

mádah.

who had the chief Hand in subduing it; for in the eighteenth Year of the Hegirah, which answers mostly to the Year of our Lord 639, there was fuch terrible Mortality both of Men and Beasts, in Syria, particularly at Emaus, and the adjacent Territory, that the Arabs call'd that Year, \* The Year of Destruction, by way of Distinction. The Saracens loft by that Plague five and twenty Thousand Men, among which were Abu Obeidah, (who was then 58 Years old) Serjabil Ebn Hafanab, formerly Mahomet's Secretary, and Tezid Ebn Abi Sophyan, with feveral o-

falem, above cit-

+ Author of the ther Saracens of Note. + Caled furviv'd History of Jeru- them about three Years, and then died; but the Place of his Burial (consequently of his Death, for they did not use in those Days to carry them far) is uncertain; some fay at Hems; others at Medinah.

> Amrou Ebno'l Aas, having staid as long in Syria as was necessary, pursuant to the Caliph's Command, prepar'd for his Expedition into Egypt. Whilft he was upon his March, whether it proceeded from Envy, which always attends great Men, or whether Othman Ebn Affani did not think him fo

pro-

proper a Person for such a Service certain it is, that Omar was perswaded by some that were about him, to recall him. That Omar himself entertain'd a good Opinion of him, and that he wrote to him rather to gratify the importunate Humour of his Friends, than out of any Dislike, seems plain from the Contents of the Letter. For whereas he could have commanded him positively to have return'd, he writes only thus: If this Letter comes to you before you get into A.gypt, return. But if you be enter'd into Ægypt, when the Messenger comes to you, go on with the Bleffing of God, and assure yourself, that if you want any Supplies, I will take Care to fend them. The Messenger overtook Amrou before he was out of Syria; who either fufpecting, or having receiv'd fecret Information of the Business, order'd him to wait upon him, till he should be at leisure to read the Letter. In the mean time he hastens his March, fully refolv'd not to open it till he came into the Confines of Ægypt. When he came to a Place call'd Arish, having affembled the Officers in his Tent, he call'd for the Messenger, and open'd the Letter with the same Gravity and Formality

Aa3

mality as if he had been altogether ignorant of the Contents of it. Having read it, he told the Company what was in it, and enquir'd of them, whether the Place where they then were, belong'd to Syria or Ægypt. They answer'd, to Ægypt. Then faid Amrou, we'll go on From thence he went to Pharmah; which he took after a Month's Siege. From thence to Misrah, (formerly Memphis) now Cairo, fituate on the Western Bank of the River Nilus, and which had been the Seat of the ancient Ægyptian Kings. This Place the Greeks had fortify'd, as being the most considerable (except Alexandria) in all that Kingdom. There was an ancient Castle there, of great Strength. The Greeks made a large Moat or Trench round about it, into which they threw great Quantities of Nailes, and Iron Spikes, to make it more difficult for the Muslemans to pass. Amrou with 4000 Men laid hard Siege to it; but when he had been there about feven Months, and could do nothing, he was forc'd to fend to the Caliph for fresh Supplies; who, as soon as might be, recruited him with 4000 The Præfect or Lieutenant of Mifrah, that held it for the Emperor Hera-

Heraclius, was one Mokaukas, of the Sect of the Facobites, and a mortal Enemy to the Greeks. He had no defign at all to ferve the Emperor, but to provide for himself; having behav'd himfelf fo ill, that he durst not come into the Emperor's Presence. For when Cofroës, the Persian, had besieg'd Constantinople, Mokaukas perceiving the Emperor in Distress, and daily expeding his Ruin, thought he had a fair Opportunity offer'd of making his Fortune, and took all the Tribute of Agypt into his own Hand, without giving Account to the Emperor of one Penny. From that time, being conscious to himself of his Deserts, he us'd all the means he could to prejudice and hinder the Emperor; fo natural is it for Men to hate those whom they have injur'd. I shall not interrupt the smooth Course of History with examining how far this Account agrees with the Greek Historians; but only fay, that my Author, Eutychius, was himself Patriarch of Alexandria: Mokaukas his chief Care was not to defend the Castle in good earnest, but to furrender it fo as to procure good Terms for himself, and secure that vast Treafure Aa4

fure which he had so ill gotting, whatever became of all the Greeks and the Orthodox Christians, which he mortally hated. There was in the River, between the belieg'd Castle and the opposite Bank, a little Island: Mokau. kas perswades the Greeks to go with him out of the Castle into that Island: telling them, That since Amrou had fresh Supplies sent him, it would be impossible for them to defend the Castle much longer; and that if they went into that Island, the River would be a much better Security for them, than the Castle. This he did on purpose to leave the Castle naked, that the Sarace's might take it the more eafily, and upon that account grant him the better Terms. At last he prevail'd, and they went out of the South-Gate, and going aboard fome little Vessels which they had there, they quickly landed in the Island, having left only a few Greeks to defend the Castle, for all the Cophties went out with Mokaukas. The Nile then began to overflow. Then Mokaukas fent Messengers to Amrou with Orders to this Effect; "You " Arabians have invaded our Country, "and given us a great deal of Trouble "and Disturbance, without any Pro-" vocation

" vocation on our Side: And now af- omar. " fure your felves, that the Nile will " quickly furround your Camp, and " you will all fall into our Hands. " However, fend some body to treat " with us, and let us know your Busi-" ness, and what you demand; per-" haps when we come to talk about " the Matter, Things may be fo fettled, as both Parties may be made " eafy, and a Peace concluded. Mokaukas his Messengers had no sooner deliver'd their Errand, but Amrou difpach'd Abadah Ebno'l Samet, a Black, with Orders to go to Mokaukas with the Messengers, and tell him his Mind. Abadah coming into Mokaukas his Prefence, he bad him fit down, and ask'd him what they (meaning the Arabs) meant, and what they would have. Abadah gave him the fame Answer as the Saracens always us'd to do to all that ask'd them that Question; telling him, That he had three Things to propose to him by the Command of Amrou, who hadreceived the same Order from his Master O. mar the Caliph; viz. That they should either change their Religion, and become Mahometans, and so have a Right and Title to all Privileges in common with em;

Or else pay perpetual Tribute Tearly, and so come under their Protection; Or else they must fight it out till the Sword decided the Controversy between them. These, as we have often observ'd before, were the Conditions which they proposed to all People where they came: The propagating their Religion being to them a just Occasion of making War upon any Nation whatsoever. To these hard Terms Mokaukas made Answer, That as to the first of them they would never submit; but he and his Friends the Cophties would willingly pay Tribute. Greeks obstinately refus'd to become Tributaries, and were refolv'd to fight it out to the last; but Mokaukas cared not what became of them, fo he might fave himself and his Money. Abadah having finish'd this Business, return'd from the Castle to the Camp; and when he had acquainted Amrou with all that had pass'd, and that there were only a few Greeks in the Castle; the Saracens renew'd their Assault, and Zobair scaled the Walls, and cry'd out, Allah Acbar. The Greeks perceiving that the Castle was lost, went into their Boats as fast as they could, and escap'd to the Island. The Saracens, possess'd of

of the Castle, kill'd and took Prisoners those few that remain'd. The Greeks now plainly understanding Mokankas his Fraud, durst trust themselves no longer so near him, but going aboard their Ships, got to Shore, and march'd to Keramo'l Shoraik, a place between Cairo and Alexandria, and put themfelves into as good a Posture of Defence as they could. In the mean time Mokaukas discours'd with Amrou about the Conditions of Peace; which were, That all the Cophties which lived both above and below Cairo should pay yearly two Ducats, without any Difference or Distin-Etion to be made between Rich or Poor: only Boys under sixteen Years of Age, decrepit old Men, and all Women, were exempted from paying any thing. The Number of the Cophties which were then polled, was fix Millions; according to which Account, the yearly Tribute of Cair, and the neighbouring Territory, amounted to twelve Millions of Ducats. Mokaukas begg'd of Amrou, that he might be always reckon'd among the Cophties, and tax'd as they were; declaring, that he desir'd to have nothing in common with the Greeks, for he was none of them, nor of their

Omar.

their Religion; but had only for a while dissembled the Matter, for fear of his Life; and intreated him never to make Peace with the Greeks, but perfecute them to Death; and for his own part, he defir'd that when he died, he might be buried in St. John's Church in Alexandria. All this Amrou promis'd to perform, upon Condition that the Cophties should be oblig'd to entertain any Musleman whatsoever, who had occasion to pass through the Country. three Days gratis, and repair two Bridges which were broken, and prepare Places for the Entertainment of himfelf and his Army, and take care that the Country People should bring in Provifion to be fold in the Camp, and clear the Way from Cairo to Alexandria. (which he was then going to befiege) building fuch Bridges as were necessary for the Army to march. These Terms were readily accepted by the Cophties, who affilted them with every thing they wanted. Amrou march'd till he came to Keramo'l Shoraik, where the Greeks that fled from Cairo were. They fought three days continually, but at last the Greeks were forc'd to give way. They had some other Battles before they

they came to Alexandria, in which the Saracens were always fuperior. Those Greeks which escap'd retir'd to Alexandria, where they made the best Pre-

paration they could for a Siege.

Amrou was not long after them, but quickly came up, and laid Siege to the City. However, the Greeks made a stout Resistance, and sallied out frequently, fo that there was a great many killed on both fides. The Saracens at last made a vigorous Attack upon one of the Towers, and enter'd it: the Greeks all the while defending it to their utmost. They fought a considerable time in the Tower, till the Saracens at last were press'd upon so hard, that they were forc'd to retire. In this Attempt, Amrou the General, Muslemah Ebno'l Mochalled, and Werdan,

Amrou's Slave, were taken Prisoners. \* Being brought before the Governour, he ask'd them

\* This same Story is told with some Variation of Circumstances both by Elmakin and Alwakidi.

what they meant by running about the. Country after this manner, and disturbing their Neighbours? Amrou an. fwer'd according to the usual Form, and told him, that they defign'd to make them either Muslemans or Tributaries

butaries before they had done. But this resolute Answer of his had like to have cost him his Life: for the Governour having taken notice of his Behaviour, concluded that he was no ordinary Person, and spoke to some that stood near him to cut off his Head. Werden, his Slav eunderstood Greek: and as foon as he heard what the Governour said, took his Master Amron by the Collar, and gave him a Box on the Ear; telling him, That he was always putting himself forward, and prating, when'twould better become him to hold his Tongue: That he was a mean contemptible Fellow, and that he would advise him to learn more Manners, and let his Betters speak before him. By this time, Muslemah Ebno'l Mochalled had bethought himself, and told the Governour. That their General had Thoughts of raising the Siege: That Omar the Caliph had wrote to him touching that Matter; and design'd to send an honourable Embasly, consisting of several worthy Persons, and Men of Note, to treat with him about Matters; and if he pleas' dto let them go, they would acquaint their General how courteously they had been us'd, and employ the utmost of their Endeavours to promote

an Accommodation. He added, That he did not in the least question, but when the Caliph's Embassadors had treated with him, things would be made very easy on both Sides, and the Siege very speedily raised. Our Historian tells us, that this impolitick Governour observing how Werdan treated his Master, concluded him to have been as mean as Werdan represented him, and believ'd the Story that Muslemab had told him, concerning Omar's fending fome of the chief Arabs to treat with him. Wherefore, considering that it would be of greater Confequence to kill fix or ten considerable Men, then three or four of the vulgar; he dismis'd these, in hopes of catching the other. They were no fooner out of Danger, but they shouted out as loud as they could, AL làh Acbar: And when the Greeks upon the Wall perceiv'd those great Tokens of Joy, which were shewn in the Camp upon their Return, they knew very well, that they were not such Perfons as the Governour had taken them for, and too late repented their letting them go. Quickly after, the Saracens renew'd their Assault, and so streightned the Alexandrians, that they were

Hegjrah 20

not able to hold out any longer. At last the City was taken, and the Greeks which were in it, were dispers'd; some confiderable Parties of them going up further into the Country, others getting off to Sea; fothat the Saracens enter'd. and \*took Possession, after they had besieg'd it fourteen Months, and lost

A. D. 640. 23000 Men before it.

> Amrou, to make all things fecure, and prevent any Alarm or Disturbance which might follow; thought it proper to purfue those Greeks, which, escaping from the Siege of Alexandria, had gone further up into the Country; reasonably concluding, that fo long as there was any Body of them in Arms, the Saracens could not enjoy their new Poffessions in Peace and Security. He therefore marches out of Alexandria upon this Defign, leaving but a few of his Saracens behind him in the Town, as apprehending no Danger on that side. During his Absence, the Greeks who had gone aboard their Ships at the taking the Town, and whose Return was not in the least fear'd or fufpected; came on a fudden, and furpriz'd the Town, and kill'd all the Saracens that were in it. This quickly came to Am-

Ômar.

Amrou's Ear; upon which he returned to Alexandria with the greatest Speed; where he found the Remnant of the Greeks, which came back from Sea, already possess'd of the Castle. They gave him a warm Reception, and fought bravely : 'At last, being over-power'd, as many of them as could get fairly off, were oblig'd to retire to their Ships, and try their Fortune at Sea once more, leaving Amrou and his Saracens in full and quiet Possession. This done, Amrou acquaints the Calipb with his Success; letting him know withal, that the Muslemans were desirous of plundering the City. Omar having receiv'd his Letter, gave him Thanks for his Service; but blam'd him for fo much as once mentioning the plundering of fo rich a City; and charg'd him strictly, that he should by no means suffer the Soldiers to make any Waste, or spoil any thing in it; but that he should carefully treasure up what was valuable, to help him to defray Charges in time of War: And that the Tribute which was rais'd in that Part of the Country should be laid up at Alexandria, to supply the Necessities of the Muslemans.

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Then they poll'd the Inhabitants of Alexandria; which being taken, all Egypt follow'd the Fortune of its Metropolis, and the Inhabitants compounded for their Lives, Fortunes, and free Liberty of living in the Profession of their own Religion, at the Expence of two Ducats a Year, without any Distinction; except any Man held any Land, Farm or Vineyard. For in fuch Cases, every one paid proportionably to the yearly Value of what he held. So that there arose a most prodigious Revenue to the Caliph. That after the Saracens were once arriv'd to this pitch, it is no wonder if they went further; for what would not fuch a Revenue do in fuch Hands? They knew very well how to husband their Money, being sumptuous at that time in nothing but their Places of publick Worship. Their Diet was plain and simple: No Wine, nor any of those Dainties, the Products of modern Luxury, which spoil the Stomach, and destroy Mens Constitutions, appear'd upon their Tables. Their chief Drink was Water; their Food confifted in a great measure in Milk, Rice, and the Fruits of the Earth.

The Arabians had as yet apply'd themselves to no manner of Learning, nor the Study of any thing but Poetry in their own Language, which they understood very well, after their way, and valu'd themselves upon, long before Mahomet's time, being altogether ignorant of the Sciences, and every Language but their own. Amrou however, tho' no Scholar, was a Man of quick Parts, and a good Capacity, and one that, when his Affairs would give him leave, was more delighted with the Conversation of learned Men, and Rational and Philosophical Discourses, than Men of his Education commonly us'd to be. \* There was at that time \*Abu'lphara-in Alexandria, one John, firnam'd, The Grammarian; a Man eminent for Learning; with whose Conversation Amrou was very well pleas'd, and would oftentimes take delight in hearing him discourse in several Sciences, and ask him Questions. This Man perceiving the great Respect shewn him by Amrou, ventur'd one Day to petition him for the Books in the Alexandrian Library; telling him, That he perceiv'dhe hadtaken an Account of all Things which he thought valuable in the City, and feal'd up all the Rejo. B b 2

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Repositories and Treasuries, but had taken no notice of the Books. That, if they would have been any way useful to him, he would not have been so bold as to ask for them; but since they were not, he desir'd he might have them. Amrou told him, That he haddesir'd a thing which was altogether out of his Power togrant; and that he could by no means dispose of the Books, without having first asked Leave of the Caliph: However, he said, he'd write, and see what might be done in it. This he accordingly perform'd, and having given a due Character of the Abilities of this learned Man, and acquainted him with his Petition; the Caliph return'd this Answer, What is contained in thefe Books you mention, is either agreeable to what is written in the Book of God (meaning the Alcoran) or it is not: If it be, then the Alcoran is sufficient without them: If otherwise,'tis fit they should be destroy'd. Amrou, in Obedience to the Caliph's Command, distributed the Books throughout all the City, amongst those that kept warm Baths (of which there was at that time in Alexandria no fewer than four Thousand) to heat the Baths with. And notwithstanding the great Havock

wock that must needs be made of 'em at this rate; the Number of Books which the Diligence of former Princes had collected was so great, that it was six Months before they were consumed. A Loss never to be made up to the learned World. This John, the Grammarian, was an Alexandrian by Birth, of the Sect of the Jacobites: Asterwards he deny'd the Trinity. Being admonish'd by the Bishops of Agypt to renounce his erroneous Opinions, he was, upon his Refusal, excommunicated.

Amrou being now posses'd of Ægypt, began to look a little further towards the Western part of Africa; and in a thort time made himself Master of all that Country which lies between Barcab and Zeweilah; the Inhabitants of Barcah bringing in the Tribute impos'd upon them punctually at the time prefix'd, without any Collectors going among them to gather it. While these Things were doing in Agypt, there was a Dearth in Arabia; fo that the Inhabitants of Medinah and the neighbouring Country, were reduc'd to a starving Condition. Upon which Omar wrote to Amrou, and acquainting him Bbz

with their Extremity, order'd him to supply the Arabs with Corn out of Ægypt. Which Amrou did in such Plenty, that the Train of Camels which were loaden with it, reach'd in a continu'd Line from Egypt to Medinah; so that when the foremost of 'em were got to Medinah, the latter part of the Gang were still in the Bounds of Ægypt. But this way of conveying their Provision being too tedious and chargeable, the Caliph commanded Amrou to dig a Passage from the Nile to the Red Sea, for the more speedy and easy Conveyance of their Provision to the Arabian Shore. Shortly after Amrou took Tripoli: And if we should consider the Greatness of his Success. it might seen wonderful, tho' there had been nothing done in any other Part. But their Victorious Arms made no less Progress Eastward, and the Mahometan Crescent began now to shed its malignant Influence upon as large and confiderable Dominions, as had ever been flown over by the Roman Eagle. \* About this time, Aderbijan, Ainwerdab, Harran, Roba, Rakkah, Nisibin, Ebwuz, Siwas, and Chorafan, were all brought under Subjection to the Saracens ;

\* Hegjrah 21. A. D. 64.

cens; in which Conquests there were, without doubt, a great many noble Actions perform'd, and well worth the relating; but the particular History of that part of their Conquests not being yet come into my Hands, the Reader is defir'd to excuse me.

About two Years after, Omar the Caliph was kill'd. The Account we have of it is this: There was one Phirouz, a Persian, of the Sect of the Magi, or Persees; who having, as being of a different Religion from the Muslemans, a Tribute of two Pieces of Silver impos'd upon him daily by his Master, made his Complaint to Omar, to have fome part of it remitted. Omar told him, he did not think it at all unreasonable, considering he might well afford it out of what he earn'd. Phirouz was fo provok'd with this Answer, that he did as good as threaten the Caliph to his Face; but he took little notice of it. Not longer after, he waited his Opportunity; and whilst Omar was faying the Morning Prayer in the \* Ahmed Ebn Mosque, he stabb'd him thrice in the \*Ahmed El Mohammed Belly with a Dager. \* The Saracens Ebn Abdi in the Mosque immediately rushing up-Rabbihi. on him, he made a desperate Desence, Huntington

M S. Arab. and Num. 554.

B b 4

Qmar.

A. D. 643.

Num. 362.

and stabb'd 13 of them, of which 7 dy'd. At last, one that stood by, threw his Vest over him, and seiz'd him: He perceiving himself caught, stabb'd himself. Omar lived three Days after it, and then died, in the Month Du'lbagjab, in the twenty third Year of the Hegjrab; (which Year began on the eighteenth Day of November, in the Year of our Lord 643.) after he had reign'd ten Years, six Months, and eight Days, and was 63 Years old; which is the same Age, at which, according to the fame Age, at which, according to

+ History of the † some Authors, Mahomet, Abubeker, Ms. Arab. Poc. and Ayesha, Mahomet's Wife died.

He was of a Dark Complexion, very tall, and had a bald Head. As to his Behaviour in the Government, the Arabick Authors give him an extrordinary Character. His Abstinence from the Things of this Life, Piety and Gravity of Behaviour, procur'd him more Reverence, than his Successors could command by their Grandeur. His walking-Stick (fays Alwakidi) struck more Terror into those that were present, than another Man's Sword. His Diet was Barley-bread; his Sauce, Salt; and oftentimes by way of Abstinence and Mortification, he eat his Bread with

Alwakidi.

without Salt. His Drink was Water. He was a constant Observer of religious Duties; and in those ten Years he reign'd, went nine times on Pilgrimage to Medinah. His Administration of Fustice was very impartial, his Ears being always open to the Complaints of the Meanest; nor could the Greatness of any Offender exempt him from Punishment. In his Decisions he always kept punctually to the Sense of the Alcoran, and the Traditions of Mahomet; in whose Time he gave a fignal Proof of the Sense he had of the Duty of Inferiors to their Governours, which was occasion'd thus.

\* An obstinate Musleman had a Suit D'Herbeat Law with a Jew before Mahomet. que Orientale.

The Jew being in the right, Mahomet pronounc'd Sentence against the Musleman; who said, That he would not be so satisfy'd, unless Omar, who was then only a private Man, had the rehearing and examining the Cause. The Plaintiff and Defendant went both together to Omar; whom they found at his own Door, and opening their Case, and acquainting him with the Decision of it, desir'd him to examine it again. Omar going into his own House, bad'em

**⇒ay** 

stay a Moment, and told them he would dispatch their Business in a trice. Coming back, he brings his Cymiter along with him, and at one single Stroke cuts off the Musleman's Head, that refus'd to be determin'd by Mahomet's Decision; saying with a loud Voice, See what they deserve, who will not acquiesce in the Determination of their Judges. It was upon this Occasion, that Mahomet, inform'd of the Fact, gave him the Title or Sirname of Farouk; intimating, that Omar knew as well how to distinguish Truth from Falshood, and Justice from Injustice, as he did to separate the Head of that Knave from his Body.

The Conquests gain'd by the Saracens in his Reign were so considerable, that tho' they had never been extended any further, the Countries they had subdu'd would have made a very formidable Empire. He drove all the Jews and Christians out of Arabia; subdu'd Syria, Ægypt, and other Territories in Africa; besides the greatest part of Persia. And yet all this Greatness, which would have been too weighty for an ordinary Man to have born, especially if we consider, that it did not descend to 'em as an hereditary
Pos-

Possession, for the ruling of which they had been prepar'd by a fuitable Education, but was gotten all on a fudden by Men that had been acquainted with nothing Great before, had no Effect upon the Caliph; but he still retain'd his old Way of Living: Nor did the Increase of his Riches ever appear by his Retinue or Expences. He built a Wall about Cufa, and repaired, or rebuilt rather, the Temples of Ferufalem and Medinah. He was the first of the Saracens, that made Rolls to enter the Names of all that were in military Service, or that receiv'd any Stipend from the Publick. He first made use of the Date of the Hegirah; concerning which the Reader may fee more in the \* Life of Mahomet, which \* Dr. Pride-I shall not here transcribe. He was aux's Life of the first of 'em that forbad that any Mahomet, Woman, who had ever born a Child, should be sold for a Slave. Author of the History of Jerusalem, above mention'd, adds, That if he had nothing else to recommend him besides his taking Jerusalem, and purging it from Idolatry, even that had been sufficient.

### HISTORY of

Omar.

He never us'd to fave any Mony in the Treasury, but divided it every Friday at Night amongst his Men, according to their feveral Necessities. In which Particular, his Practice was preferable to Abubeker's; for Abubeker us'd to proportion his Dividends to the Merit of the Persons that were to receive it; but Omar had regard only to their Necessities; faying, That the things of this World were given us by God for the Relief of our Necessities, and not for the Reward of Vertue; because the proper Reward of that belong'd to another World. off his many himsons

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# THMAN EBN AFFAN, Othman.

Third Caliph after MAHOMET.

IN the Space of those three Days which Omar liv'd, after he had received his mortal Wound, his Friends came about Hegjrah 23. Which Year behim, folliciting him to giming on the 18th of November, in the year of our Lord 643, the make his Will, and name greatest part of it answers to the a Successor. To which rear 644.

he answer'd, That if Salem were alive, he should approve of none fo well as him. Then they nam'd feveral to him, but he still found some Fault or other with all they propos'd. Some recommended Ali, upon the Account of his near Relation to Mahomet; besides his Valour and other Qualifications: But Omar did not think him ferious enough for fuch a weighty Charge. Then Othman Ebn Affan being nam'd, Omar rejected him, as a Person too much enclin'd to favour his own Friends and Relations. When they

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they perceiv'd that it was impossible for em to pitch upon any Person, against whom he would not make an Exception; they had good Reason to think, that this proceeded from a Defire that his Son should succeed him. But his Son being mention'd to him, he answer'd, That it was enough for one in a Family, to have an Account to give of so weighty a Charge, as the Governing the Muslemans was. At last, when they could not perswade him to name a Succeffor, he appointed fix Perfons, to whom he allow'd three Days time to confult about the Matter, after his Deceafe. He order'd his Son to be prefent whilst they debated, but gave him no Liberty of Voting. The Six Commissioners were Othman, Ali, Telhha,

\* Abu'lpharagius, instead of this Abdo'rrahman puts in Abu Obeidah; but I have chosen rather to follow Eutychius and Elmakin; because there are more Authors than one, who say positively that Abu Obeidah died of the Plague in Syria, in the 18th Year of the Hegjrah.

Azzobeir, \* Abdorrabman Ebn Auf, and Saed Ebn Abi Wakkas; All which had been the familiar Acquaintance and Companions of Mahomet. Omar being dead, they met to confult; and Ab-

do'rrahman said, That for his part he would willingly lay aside all Pretentions to it, provided they would agree to chuse

one of those that were present. All of them consented to it but Ali, who thought himself injur'd, because he was not the immediate Successor of Mahomet. At last he consented too, after Abdo'rrahman had sworn to him, that he would neither vote for, nor favour any Man whatsoever that should offer himself. Abdo'rrahman, upon this, advises with the rest, who inclining to Othman Ebn

Affân, he was chosen Caliph, and inaugurated \*three Days after Omar's Death. Abu'lpharagius says, that Abu Obeidah (whom he puts in the Room of Abdo'rrahmân) came to Ali, and ask'd

\*There is some Variety in the Accounts of the time of Othman's Inauguration. Some say there was but one Day left of the last Month of the 23d Year of the Hegjrah. Others say it was on the twentieth Day of the first Month (Moharram) of the twenty fourth Year.

him, If he would take the Government upon him, upon Condition that he should be oblig'd to administer according to what was contain'd in the Book of God, The Tradition of his Prophet, and the Determination of two Seniors. Ali answer'd, That as for the Book of God, and the Tradition of his Prophet, he was contented; but he would not be oblig'd to be determin'd by the Constitutions of the Seniors. The same Terms being offer'd to Othman, he embrac'd then without any Exception.

tion, and was immediately chosen Ca-

liph.

Being establish'd in the Government, he follows the Example of his Predecessors, and sends his Forces abroad, to enlarge his Dominions. In a short time Maho'l Basora, and what remain'd of the Borders of Isphahan and Raya was taken; so that the poor Persian King was now eaten up on all Sides, and had very little left him. The same Year that Othman was made Caliph, Birah and Hamden were taken, and Moawiyah, who was then Presect of Syria, and afterwards Caliph, invaded the Territories of the Grecian Emperor, took a great many Towns, and wasted the Country.

We have observed before, that Othman was taken notice of, for being too much inclin'd to favour his Friends: Upon which Account Omar judg'd him unworthy to succeed him: Which Inclination now appear'd plainly, when he had got the Government into his Hands, and was in a Capacity of obliging them. For notwithstanding Amrou Ebno'l Aas had done the Saracens such singular Service, and added Agypt to their Empire, yet Othman \* depos'd him, and took away his Præsecture,

\*A.H.25. Octob. 27. A. D. 645.

or

or Lieutenancy of Ægypt from him, without any just Reason at all that ever I could learn; but only because he had a mind to prefer Abdo'llab Ebn Said; his Foster-Brother, to a Place of fuch Dignity and Profit: Than which, there could scarce be a greater Imprudence; for Amrou, having been a considerable time in Ægypt, had made both the Persons and the Customs of the Ægyptians familiar to him, and was very well belov'd by 'em: Upon which Account; and his admirable Skill in military Affairs, he was, without doubt, the fittest Man for such a Charge, that the Saracens had. However, the Order of the Caliph must be obey'd; but it was not attended with very good Success. For Constantine, the Grecian Emperor, fent one Manuel, an Eunuch, with an Army, to retake Alexandria; which was accordingly perform'd by the Assistance of the Greeks in the City; who keeping fecret Correspondence with the Emperor's Army, then at Sea, receiv'd them at their landing; and Alexandria, which Amron had taken four Years before, was now once more in the Hands of the Grerian Emperor. And now it was evi-Cc dently

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Othman.

dently feen of what Use Amrou was in Egypt. He was immediately restor'd to his former Dignity; for the Ægyptians, conscious to themselves of dealing treacherously with the Emperor, fearing, left falling into the Hands of the Grecians, they should be punish'd according to their Deferts, humbly petition'd the Calipb, that they might have their old General Amrou restor'd, both upon the account of his being well acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, and his Experience in War. This was no fooner ask'd, than granted; the Exigency of Affairs indispenfably requiring it. Amrou being now in full Power, goes against Alexandria with his Army, in which were a great many Cophties, and among 'em the Traitor Mokaukas, whose Business'twas to provide things necessary for the Army in their March. Amrou being come before Alexandria, found the Greeks in a good Posture of Defence. They gave him Battle feveral Days together, and held out bravely. The Obstinacy of their Defence provok'd him fo, that he swore, If God gave him the Victory, he would pull down the Walls of the Town, and make it as easy of Access as a Bawdyboufe.

He was as good as his Word; Othman, for when he had taken the Town, which was not long after, he demolish'd all the Walls and Fortifications. and difmantled it quite. However, he dealt very mercifully with the Inhabitants, and fav'd as many of their Lives as he could. And built a Mosque in that very Place, where he stav'd the Fury of the Saracens, who were killing all they met; which Mosque was upon that Account call'd, \* The Mosque of \* Arab. Já-Mercy. Manuel, the Grecian Emperor's mi'errahh-General, being quite routed, retir'd, mati. with fo many of his Men as he could carry off, to the Sea-shore: where weighing Anchor with all possible speed, they hoisted Sail, and return'd to Confantinople. From that time, that most flourishing City, once the Metropolis of Egypt, dwindl'd away and declin'd apace; fo that there is little belonging to it that is worth taking notice of, only a good Haven, and fome Merchants Store-houses.

† About this time, Moawiyab invaded † Hegirah 27. Cyprus, and agreed with the Inhabi-A.D. 647. tants upon this Condition, That he should share the Revenues of that Island with the Grecian Emperor.

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So that the Cyprians were oblig'd to pay feven thousand and two hundred Ducats every Year to Moawiyah, and the like Sum to the Emperor. The Mahometans enjoy'd this Tribute near two Years, and were then disposses'd by

the Christians.

The fame Year that Moawiyah agreed with the Cyprians, Othman fent Abdo'llah Ebn Amir and Said Ebno'l Aas to invadeChorafan; and, to encourage their Diligence, told 'em, That which of them soever got thither first, should have the Prefecture of that Territory. They took a great many strong Places, and so itreighten'd Tazdejerd, the Persian King, that he was now fo far from being able to meet the Saracens in open Field, that he was forc'd to shift about every way to fave himself. And lest any Misfortune should be wanting to compleat his Ruin, he was at last betray'd by a treacherous Servant; an Unhap-piness which frequently happens to Princes in Diffress: For those who have any private Pique against them, take the Opportunity offer'd by their Miffortunes of being reveng'd: Others, hoping to ingratiate themselves with the conquering Party, slick to do nothing

thing that will oblige them, tho' to the utter Ruin of their former Masters.

For Tazdejerd, distress'd on every Side, call'd in Tarchan, the Turk, to his Affistance, who came accordingly with an Army. But their Stay was short; for Yazdejerd, upon a frivolous Account, affronted Tarchan, and fent him back again: Imprudently done in those desperate Circumstances. He had acted a much wifer Part, in putting up a great many little Affronts, rather than fend away those Allies, which he could not subsist without. Mahwa, a Person of Note, who had a spite against his Master Tazdejerd, takes the Advantage of the Turk's Indignation, who highly refented the Affront, and fends to Tarchan, telling him, That if he would come back and revenge the Affront, he would not be wanting to his Assistance. Upon this Tarchan returns; Tazdejerd meets him with the best Preparation he could make; but was beaten. In his Flight, the Traytor Mahwa fets upon him, and quite destroys and disperses the shatter'd Remains of his Army which had escap'd. Tazdejerd got off himself, and coming to a Mill, proffer'd the Miller his Belt, Cc3 his

his Bracelets, and his Ring: But this churlish Brute, not considering the Worth of the Things which were offer'd him, much less the Compassion which Humanity obliges us to shew to all in Distress, especially our Princes, told him, That he earned four Pieces of Silver with bis Millevery Day, and if he would give him so much Money, he would let it stand still upon his Account: If not, he would not. Whilst they where debating this Matter, a Party of Horse, which were in search of him, happen'd to come to this Place. where they found him, and kill'd him. He was the last King of the Persians; and at the beginning of his Reign, the Persian Era, or Date, which they use to this Day, begins; which is from him call'd Tazdejerdica. Thus the Persian Government was entirely destroy'd, and all the Territories belonging to it fell into the Hands of the Caliphs, in the Thirty first Year of the Hegjrab, which began on the Twenty third Day of August, in the Year of our. Lord 651.

Hegjrah 31. Aug. 23. A. D. 651.

OTHMAN, tho' a religious Man in his Way, and of a good Dispositi-

on,

on, was nevertheless very unfit for Go- Othman, vernment; for he did a great many very impolitick Things, which alienated the Minds of his Subjects from him, and gave Occasion to his Enemies both to open their Mouths and take up Arms against him. The first that we hear of, who began to make a Stir, and talk publickly against the Caliph, was one Abudar Alacadi, who, in the 31st Year of the Hegirah, openly rail'd on him, and made it his Business to defame him. Othman took no other notice of it, than only to forbid him coming into his Presence. Upon this, Abudar goes into Syria, where he continued detracting from the Caliph, and aggravating every Thing that might be objected against him. Moawiyah, at that time Lieutenant of Syria, \* Arab. Fa-wrote to Othman; who thereupon fent radd so? for Abudar to Medinah, \* and put him Mure ah.

lies in the word Muréidah: Erpenius in his Translation of Elmakin makes a proper Name of it; and so it must be read thus; And fent him to Amureidah. But I very much doubt it; for I find no fuch Place in the Dominions of the Saracens. I rather chuse to read it, Mérbadah from Rábada, which signifies, to bind; or restrain; from whence Mérbadah will signify the Place of Restraint; i. e. a Prison. This seems to me to be most agreeable to the Sense of the Author, and I take the Liberty to receed from the common Reading, the rather because Erpenius follow'd a very faulty Copy.

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into Prison: in which he continu'd till his Death, which was but the Year after.

But this was only the Beginning of Troubles to the Caliph; for the Saracens grew every Day worfe than o. ther. Factious and uneasy Spirits, when once they begin to disturb any Government, never rest till they be either intirely crush'd themselves, or elfe obtain their Ends. The Murmuring encreas'd daily, and almost every Province in the Empire had fomething or other to complain of, peculiar to it felf, besides those Grievances which were common to them all: \* Hegjrah 35. fo that in the \* five and thirtieth Year July 10. 655. of the Hegirah, all Things were in a Flame. Every Man's Mouth was full of grievous Accusations against the Caliph, and Complaints of his Male-Administration. Those Things which they principally laid to his Charge, were; "That he had recall'd Hhakem " Ebno'l Aas to Medinah, who had been s banish'd by the Prophet, and had " not been recall'd by either of his " Predecessors, Abubeker or Omar, That " he remov'd Said Ebn Abi Wakkas one of those fix to whom Omar had

" com-

committed the Election of a Caliph, Othman.

" ther Man of fcandalous Conversati-

" on, a Drinker of Wine, and notori-

ous for other Debaucheries. That

" he had been too lavish of the Publick

"Treasure to his Friends, and had gi-

" ven Abdo'llab 400000 Ducats and

" Hhakem 100000. That he had re-

mov'd Amrou Ebno'l Ads from the

Lieutenancy of Ægypt, and put Saïd Ebn Abi Shárehh into his Place. This Saïd had been one of those that had help'd to write the Alcoran, and afterwards apostatiz'd and lest the Profession of Mahometanism: Whereupon Mahomet resolv'd to kill him when he took Meccah, which was in the eighth Year of the Hegjrah; but at Othman's Intreaty, spar'd his Life, and was content to banish him. "That when he was

"first made Caliph, he presum'd to sit upon the uppermost part of the Suggestum or Pulpit, where Mahomet

" himself us'd to sit; whereas Abube-

" ker always fat one Step lower, and

"Omar two. These and a great many other things made the People murmur at him. At last, in a publick Assembly, he told them from the Pulpit,

" That

O hman " That the Money which was in the "Treasury was facred, and belong'd " to God; and that he fas being the se Successor of the Prophet | would " dispose of it to whomsoever he " thought fit, in fpight of them; and " threaten'd and curs'd whofoever " should shew any Dislide of what he " had said. Ammar Ebn Tafer declar'd that he diflik'd it. Upon which Othman commanded him to be beaten, and immediately some that stood by, fell upon him, and beat him till he fwoon'd. This fort of Treatment fo incens'd the Arabs, that they gather'd together, took Arms, and encamp'd within a League of Medinah. From their Camp they fent an infolent Message to the Calipb demanding of him, either to do that which was right and just, (i. e. what they thought fo) or elfe refign the Government. The poor Caliph would now have done any thing with all his Heart, to have been at quiet. But this is observable, that the Risings of seditious Subjects are not to be laid by complying with their Demands, for the more is granted by the Prince in fuch Circumstances, the more they crave. He goes into the Pulpit which was

was in the Mosque at Medinah, and Othman. there folemnly before the whole Congregation, calls God to witness, that he was heartily forry for what was past, and that he repented. But all to no purpose; for by this time all the Provinces were in an uproar, and the Strength of the Rebels encreas'd daily. There were few Provinces but what fent some considerable Men, who met together at Medinah, to depose Othman. Malec Alashtar brought 200 Men with him from Cufa; there came 150 from Basora; 600 from Egypt, all upon this Occasion. The Caliph being now in great Perplexity, fent Mogeirah Ebn Shabah and Amron Ebno'l Ads, to treat with the Malecontents, and endeavour to perswade them to be determin'd by the Alcoran and the Sunnet; that is, the Traditions of Mahomet; but they had very little Thanks for their Pains, for the Rebels us'd them scurvily. Then he fent Ali to them, (who ever fince the Death of Mahomet had expected to be Caliph, and had a very considerable Party) him they receiv'd with more Reverence, and he bound himself to fee that all that Othman promis'd them should be perform'd; and to make 'em the

the more easy, Othman and Aliset both their Hands to a Paper, in which they promis'd to remove the Causes of their Grievances. Then the Agyptians demanded to have Abdollah Ebn Saidremov'd from the Lieutenancy of Egypt, and Mohammed, the Son of Abubeker, put in his Room: Which Othman readily comply'd with, and fign'd his Commission. This Condescention of the Caliph, feemingly fatisfy'd them pretty well; fo that the Parties were diffolv'd, and every Man return'd to his own Country. The Storm feem'd to be blown over, and any Man would have thought that the Calipb had no reason to doubt of going to the Grave in Peace. But what will not Treachery do? There was nothing omitted by the Caliph's Enemies, which might foment these Prejudices in the People, that they had already conceiv'd against Ayesha, Mahomet's Widow, was his mortal Enemy. Certainly it would much better have become one that pretended to have been the Wife of an inspir'd Prophet, to have spent the Days of her Widow-hood in Devotion and good Works, rather than in doing Mischief, and embroiling the State. But

But she was so prejudic'd in Favour of Othman. Telha the Son of Zobeir, whom she would fain have rais'd to the Dignity of Caliph, that no Confideration of Goodness or Decency could hinder her from designing the Death of Othman. Another of his greatest Enemies was Mahomet, Abubeker's Son, the same whom the Ezyptians had desir'd for their Prefect. But none did him more harm than Merwan Ebno'l Hbakem, his Secretary, who may justly be look'd upon as the principal Cause of his Ruin, which was occasion'd thus.

As the Ægyptians which were gather'd together to depose Othman, were upon their Journey homewards from Medinah, with Mahomet, the Son of Abubeker, their new Lieutenant; they met with a Messenger carrying Letters from the Caliph to Abdo llah Ebn Said, at that time Lieutenant of Ægypt. Him upon Examination they detain'd and open'd his Letters: In which they found Orders given to Abdo'llab to this Effect. " As foon as Mahomet, the " Son of Abubeker, and N. and N. &c. " shall arrive in Ægypt, cut off their " Hands and Feet, and impale them. This Letter had Othman's Seal and Su-

Superfcription; the whole Business being manag'd by the Villany of the Secretary Merwan, who contriv'd this Letter himself, (as he had done many others to the Caliph's great Disadvantage) and order'd it fo as it might fall into the Hands of the Agyptians, on purpose to re-inflame the Difference which had, by the Care of Ali, and the Condescention of the Caliph, been in a great measure compos'd, 'Tis no hard matter to guess how Mahomet, Abubeker's Son, and the Agyptians that were with him, were affected with They were stark mad; this Letter. and no ill Language, no Revenge, was thought sufficient for him, that design'd such Cruelty to them. They immediately hasten back to nah, making large Speeches all the of the Treachery and Perfidiousness of the Calipb, and how narrowly and accidentally they had efcap'd so imminent a Danger. Such Stories as this feldom lofe any thing in the telling, especially considering that the Wound was but just skinn'd over, and not heal'd; there being, besides the Faction at Court, a great many disaffected Persons, who

who spar'd not to say the worst of the Caliph. The News of the Ægyptians returning, flies immediately all over the Country; and how, if they had not accidentally intercepted Othman's Letter to Abdo'llab, they must have suffer'd the utmost Cruelty. Upon this, all People unanimously detested the Perfon of the Caliph: And those who had come before from Cufa and Bafora, and had return'd upon the Accommodation that was made, were scarce got home, before alarm'd with this News, they came back again to affift the Agyptians in the deposing Othman. This Letter, they thought, excus'd whatfoever they did, and those who did not believe that the Caliph wrote it, could make Use of that Pretence to vilify him, in order to gain their End. At last, they besieg'd him in his own House; He, in the mean time, proffering all manner of Satisfaction that could reasonably be demanded, and declaring his Repentance for what he had done amiss. But all in vain; they were refolv'd to be reveng'd on him; who

who indeed had never intended them any Injury. When he perceived himself streighten'd, he sent to his Cousin Ali, and ask'd him: " If " he had a Defire to fee his Cou-" fin murther'd, and his own King-" dom rent in Pieces? Ali answered, By no means: And upon this fent his two Sons, Hafan and Hofein, to defend him, and keep the Gate, that he might not fuffer any Violence. I am verily perswaded, that Ali did not mean any Harm to the Caliph; but, whether it was because he had a Prospect of succeeding him, and upon that account was loath to difoblige the Muslemans; who, he perceiv'd, were altogether fet against Othman, or for what other Reason. It is plain, that he did not affift him with that Vigour and Earnestness which might otherwise have been expected. 'Tis true, he sent Hasan and Hosein; but they, when the Befiegers had streighten'd the Caliph for want of Water, left him to their Mercy. Then Mahomet, Abubeker's Son, and Ammar Ebn Tafer, with feveral others, enter'd the House, where

they found the Calipb with the Alcoran Othman. in his Lap. They immediately fell upon him, and one of them wounded him in the Throat with a Dart : A fecond stabb'd him with his Sword. As foon as he fell, another fat upon his Breast, and wounded him in nine Places. \* Thus died Othman, the Hegirah 35. Third after Mahomet, when he was July 10.655. eighty two Years old, of which he had reigned near twelve. Authors differ concerning the time of his being befieg'd in his House; but it seems to have been about fix Weeks. He lay unbury'd for three Days; at last he was remov'd, (by whose Order I find not) bloody as he was, and bury'd in the same Cloaths he was kill'd in, without so much as being wash'd, or the least Funeral Solemnity. A remarkable Instance of the Vanity of Human Greatness, and the Uncertainty of all. worldly Felicity.

As to his Person, he was very tall, of a good Countenance, dark Complexion, and a large Beard. His way of living was commendable enough for a Saracen. He was very constant and diligent in persorming religious Exer-

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cifes; frequent in reading and meditating the Alcoran, and fasted very ofren. His Charity was very extensive, his Riches very great. Tho' he was very hardly us'd, yet it must not be deny'd, that he had given some Occasions for the People to think ill of line; which a politick Governour would have avoided: For he was fo much enclin'd to prefer his own Family and Friends, that he scarce ever consider'd their Merit. From whence this Inconvenience must necessarily follow, that a great many Men would at this rate be put into Places of the greatest Trust, which were no way qualify'd for the Discharge of their Duty; and if they did any thing amiss, the Caliph who prefer'd them, was fure to bear a great share in the Reflections which were made. Befides, through the Treachery of that Villain Merwan, his Secretary, a great many ill things were laid to his Charge; which he had no hand in. For it was a common thing with him to fet Othman's Seal to Letters, which oftentimes contain'd very scandalous Commands to Governours of Provin-

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ces; by which means the People Othman. were kept in an Aversion to him; and these Disturbances being constantly fomented by his Enemies they never ceas'd, till at last they deprived him both of Government and Life.

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